

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CXII.

ART. I.—A LAND POLICY FOR NORTHERN INDIA.

IT is in no spirit of presumption, but with an earnest desire for the welfare of a people among whom it is my lot to labour, that I say a policy is wanted, grievously wanted, in India at the present time. The nature and conditions of my employment bring me into continual and close contact with the people, and enable me more or less to catch their tone of thought. The conviction has forced itself on me that our Government is no longer the same to them that it was. A feeling of distrust that may easily warm into active dislike is growing up. An idea that the Government is hard, leans on its own power and strength, and no longer seeks to adapt its measures to the wishes or even the good of the people is beginning to prevail.

That this feeling seldom takes the form of open utterance is surely no matter for surprise, and no argument against its existence. I am prepared to hear its reality denied, and my opinion attributed to some change in my own mind, or to a freak of the imagination. But the instinct which informs the mind of the unexpressed feelings, and the tone or disposition of those brought into contact with it, is one that I can generally trust, and I do not think it has deceived me in this particular instance. Nor has the open expression of discontent been entirely wanting. The few natives who know me sufficiently well to dare to speak freely, have repeatedly declared their wonder at the measures of the Government in the last few years. Not long ago an old zemindar who served us loyally in 1857, but seldom seeks an interview with any Englishman, said to me,—“We used to say the British Government was the best in India, we shall say so no longer.” The cultivators for whom the great Rent Act was passed, to whom we have given rights of occupancy and all the rest of it, have openly expressed to me their disgust at the way we have abandoned them to the zemindar. ‘Your settlement is no settlement for us,’ they say, and it is the truth. Which of the duties of the Government has been more zealously discharged than that of directing education? Yet it is notorious that discontent on this point prevails, certainly

among one very numerous class of our subjects. Perhaps no class in any country in the world has more reason to be grateful to its Government than the mercantile and trading classes of this country. Yet we have hit upon so distasteful a method of compelling them to contribute to the revenues, that it is more than doubtful whether even they are with us.

That the British Government of India is intrinsically bad, I would be the last person to admit. I am not of those who, in a spirit of somewhat false humility, extol the perfections of native rule at the cost of our own. There can be to my mind no comparison between the two systems—if indeed a Native Government can be called a system at all, except a system of oppression. But, unfortunately for us, that generation which had experience of both kinds of administration is rapidly passing away even in the provinces most lately brought under British sway. A real Native Government, moreover, has become an extinct species, a very Dodo in politics. All the Native States, even those in which least interference has been exercised, are more or less civilised by our example. Nothing compels a man to keep his house in order so much as the presence of a spruce neighbour on his right hand and on his left. Side by side with the order, protection and honesty of British rule, even the descendants of marauders have to adopt a comparatively constitutional form of government. It therefore does not do to say that the people must like our Government because it is so much better than any they ever had before. They are rapidly forgetting what manner of thing their former Government was. Instead of using that potent engine we have in our hands—the schools of the country—to keep up the remembrance of ancient misrule, and enable them to appreciate their present state—we take care to teach the great mass of the population nothing but the praises of Akbar. It is a common supposition, at any rate in the village schools of the North-West, that British rule dates from 1857, and began with the income-tax. And even to the educated and enlightened native as to all men, it is the ills, however small, that now gall him, and not the calamities that have passed, that are most impressive, and most burdensome.

I am the last person to suggest that our subjects are ready or inclined to rise against us. Even if their discontent were much greater than it is, and their determination to free themselves had assumed any tangible form, they are quite powerless in our grasp. A rude, ignorant, uneducated mass without leaders, without arms, without money, and with no cohesion among themselves, what could they do? I have no desire to resort to the argument of terror, a mean argument at the best even where it is well founded. But my object is to point out that feelings of discontent are in

existence, that the people instead of being drawn closer to our government and acquiring year by year a better appreciation of our motives, are drifting further away from us. Their suspicions—and no people are more prone to suspicion—are on the increase. Such a state of things, if devoid of actual danger, is at any rate undesirable. It will lead, if not checked, to worse evils; and among the agrarian classes will most probably develop into chronic discontent, and sap the prosperity of the country. To avert this danger before it is too late, to bring the people to a better understanding of us and our measures, something more is wanting than the mere discharge of the ordinary functions of Government, however untiring and conscientious. Something more is needed than a steady progression in the old ways. Depend upon it if those ways were altogether right, the planes in which the governed and the governors move would approach and not diverge. Therefore I say that a policy is wanted—grievously wanted in India at this time. In pointing out the direction that this policy ought to take, most of my remarks will apply to the land, and the classes connected with it. The greatest questions in India are naturally concerned with the land. The population is almost entirely agricultural. The trade is agricultural. The backbone of the revenue is agriculture. It is unavoidable, therefore, that I should speak more of the land than anything else; and the primary object of this paper is to advocate a reconstructive policy regarding the land—a policy that shall restore, in this respect and to some degree, the ancient constitution of the country. My experience being derived entirely from the North-West, I wish to make no assertions whatever concerning other parts of the country. But a great deal of what I am going to say will apply, I believe, with nearly equal force to Bengal, the Punjab, and Bombay; and perhaps to the Madras Presidency also.

It might be thought at first sight, that no class ought to be more attached to our rule than the landowners. Without going into the controversy as to the original nature of their rights, it is certain that they owe their present position chiefly to the British Government. Whatever they were originally, whether owners of the land or mere middlemen, their tenure was very uncertain, their profits very limited and precarious, dependent on the will and caprice of a despot. The proclamations that inaugurated the British Government recognised and confirmed their property in the soil, nor have we ever gone back from our word in that matter. Since that time the security of their titles has been unquestioned.

Again, while under the Native Governments a comparatively small allowance for their maintenance was all that was left to the zemindars, we have relinquished half the rental to them; and, by fixing the revenue for long periods, have made them sole masters of the profits accruing from the increased value of land

during the currency of their leases. It might be well thought that a class for whom so much has been done must be discontented from mere vice, if indeed it is discontented.

But, unfortunately, the change from uncertainty to security, and from rackrenting to generosity, was not the only novelty introduced by us. Hand in hand with these undoubted benefits, came another innovation that has gone far in the eyes of the people to nullify all that they have gained. I refer to the forced sale of land for debt or arrears of revenue. Some time ago I was employed in part of the Meerut district that belonged to the territory of the Begum Sombre, and had so recently been absorbed in the British territory that many of the zemindars could compare the Native and the English revenue systems from their own experience. The revenue exacted by the Begum was nearly double that taken by us. Her revenue rates were, in fact, the full rent rates: and the zemindar's profit was confined to whatever he could make out of his own farm, together with any small drawback or maintenance money allowed to him by the Begum. I have often contrasted to the zemindars their past and present condition, and urged upon them the advantages we had given them. Their enthusiasm, however, was never very great. They admitted the moderation of our assessment, but compared the rigorous machine-like severity with which we collect it with the lax and capricious methods of the native administration. If the Begum did exact more, they would say, she always made allowance for bad seasons. You must be paid whatever happens. Besides, they always went on to add, we ran no risk of losing our land under the Begum, while now we are always in fear of seeing it put up to auction. The Collector will sell it if we fall into arrears; and if we borrow money to pay the arrears, the banya will sell it.

Their argument in fact was this, that a heavy assessment without danger of losing their land by auction sale is better than a light assessment in which this danger is always present, like a skeleton at a feast. Their opinion is, I think, very commonly shared by the native landowners. Nor is it without very solid foundation. The history of the earlier years of the British rule especially justifies them in entertaining it. An assessment that was certainly not immoderate, if compared to those that preceded it under Native Governments, was so worked as to lead to something like a revolution of society. In those days, to the evils incidental to our rigid system of collection were superadded the ignorance of our officers, and the fraud and chicanery of the Bengáli officials and others, who followed our standard, as the vultures follow in the wake of an army. Estates were acquired as well by auction sale as by every species of fraud. Their owners were reduced to the condition of tenants-

at-will. They were ground down and trampled on by the men, often our own officials, who got possession of the land. And their cry was so loud, and the evil so gigantic, that even English law and English prejudice gave way. A Special Commission was appointed to remedy the injustice that was done. The Commission sat. But it did very little more. The evil so far from being stayed has gone on waxing in strength year by year.

The man through whose instrumentality the Special Commission was appointed, and who laboured more than any one else to have the injustice that had been done remedied, was Mr. Robertson, then Judge and Magistrate of Cawnpore, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West. In a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government, dated September 9th, 1820, he has so well described the evils inseparable from the transfer of the land from the old proprietors, that although his remarks were made with immediate reference to the acquisition of estates by fraud, they are well worth quoting, and are as pertinent now as they were fifty years ago.

After explaining how the real profits and subsistence of the old proprietary bodies was their seer land, and how there existed in almost every village, in addition to those whom alone we with our English ideas recognised as proprietors, various grades and classes having a beneficial interest in the soil, he goes on to show the effect of handing over a village to a landlord of the new English stamp.

"Supposing, however, the village to come into the hands of a Dewan, Nazir, Tehsildar or any other description of person regarding himself as the landlord, according to our European notion of landed property, what a revolution must ensue.

"The new landlord, to obtain his allowance of 13 per cent. in full must require rent for the seer lands, which, as I have shown, had hitherto been subject to merely a nominal and imperceptible assessment.

"But these lands had been distributed among the nearer relations of the village chief; or, in other words, had been applied by him not only to his own support, but to the sacred duty, as they esteem it, of maintaining his more immediate family connexions. According to the numerical strength of the family, the prevailing local custom, or the extent and capacity of the land, there may have been ten, twenty, or fifty high-spirited Rajpoots who thence, for themselves, their wives and children, derive a subsistence which were it subject to assessment the land can never yield.

"Stripped then of that which had supported their progenitors for centuries, and degraded to the rank of common cultivators, what is left for them but to wander abroad in search of a liveli-

hood which they know not where to seek, or to remain at home exposed to hourly mortification, and doomed to pine in distress where their forefathers, constituting the yeomanry of the country, had lived in independence and comfort."

Mr. Robertson goes on to show that, while such was the result of our innovations to the people, to the Government it was almost worse. The courts were crowded with suitors vainly praying for redress. The country was rife with crime of all kinds. And while in one pergunnah in Cawnpore which had by a fortunate combination of circumstances escaped this revolution, crime was rare, and no village police or chowkedars existed, in another that had passed almost entirely into the hands of one of our officials, thefts were numerous and a large body of village police had to be entertained.

If I had space, I would quote more from Mr. Robertson's letter. It is a document that ought to be published, and will be perhaps, now that some attention is paid to our old records. But I have given enough for my purpose. His description of the state of the ousted proprietors is accurate and truthful. And there is no need to alter a line of it to make it applicable to the state of things now existing and that has existed, ever since he wrote.

Is it then to be wondered at, if the brightness of our gifts, security of title, and a moderate assessment, has been somewhat dulled in the people's eyes by the shadow of these dangers? They have seen a new class springing up under our rule, and engulfing all the oldest and most honoured families in the land. Whatever may be said regarding our creation of landlords, or occupancy rights, of this there can be no doubt, that the class of ex-proprietors is our own work, the offspring of our laws. The men who have lost their ancestral lands by auction sale cannot look back beyond the origin of British rule. Few will deny that in any country the existence of a large class of men who were once owners of the land they now cultivate, and who still consider themselves the rightful owners, is a source of political weakness to the Government. How much more so when that class is daily on the increase, and when the conditions of the Government are such as they are in India. Each old family, as it sees its neighbour fall, and his place occupied by some grasping usurer, trembles for itself. It is very easy to preach and tell them it is their own fault if they fall into the pit. The habits and traditions of generations cannot be shaken off. Money will be borrowed, and estates mortgaged. Everything is on the side of the usurer, and everything against the rude Brahmin, Rajpoot, or Mussulman. The rate of interest remains much the same, while the power of recovering the debt is increased by all the strength of our Government. In

many districts the trader and money-lender have already taken the place of the old land-owning classes. In Cawnpore, for instance, out of 2,311 villages, Mr. Halsey tells us 69 per cent. have been transferred, besides a large number of portions of villages. In others the change is merely a question of time. To show the speed at which it is progressing, it may be mentioned that in one sub-division of Etawah, a money-lender who had only a small share of one village thirty years ago, is now master of forty entire villages and has shares in as many more. And to whatever part of the country we turn, much the same story meets us. From the Punjab, from Bombay, from Central India, everywhere the ancient owners of the soil are giving place to the trader and the usurer. Speaking of Bombay, Justice Melvill of the High Court says in a judgment recently delivered :—

“ I am strongly disposed to agree with the Calcutta Judges as to the impolicy of allowing sales by mortgages in the Mofussil. The mass of mortgages consists of mortgages of ancestral fields, made by ignorant cultivators to greedy and unscrupulous money-lenders. The great object of the money-lender is to get the land into his own hands, and when he has succeeded, he is the worst possible landlord, spending nothing on the improvement of his estate, and rack-renting the unfortunate ryot, whose proprietary rights have passed from him, but who is willing to slave for the usurer rather than abandon the field of his fathers. When we stand between two classes such as these, it is the borrower, and not the lender, whom we should protect. Any measure which tends to the general transfer of proprietary rights in land from the cultivating to the money-lending classes, should, in my opinion, be viewed with the greatest jealousy.”

A recent issue of the *Indian Observer* brought to notice a case in the Saugor district, in which the estate of an old Rajpoot Chief, numbering nearly one hundred villages and lightly assessed, was advertised for sale on account of a debt amounting to less than one year's purchase of the revenue payable to Government.

In the Punjab the evil has been held in check for a long time by the action of the Executive Government. Sales of land for debt were legal, but the sanction of Government or the Judicial Commissioner was necessary in each case, and was seldom or never given. When the High Court was established, this function of sanctioning sales was made over to it. What the action of the Court has been is not known to me. But we know what may be expected of any High Court in a matter of this kind. Their sanction is not legally required to the sale of land in execution of a decree, and they will probably, and perhaps rightly, decline to have anything to say to it. Such a matter in such a country as the Punjab should hardly be left to be dealt with in so very tortuous a way. If land ought not to be sold for debt, surely the best way of arriving at the desired end is by direct legislation.

It is hardly statesmanlike to leave it to the caprice of the Judges.

In the Jhansie and Nerbudda territories sale of land for debt was until very recently unknown. The Central Provinces have however adopted this, as some think, necessary part of a civilised jurisprudence. To debts contracted on merely personal security, and carrying an interest proportionately high, has been given the security of the landed property of the debtors. The result cannot be doubtful.

The unfairness and hardship of allowing debts contracted under a former state of things to be recovered by sale of the debtor's land is so well illustrated by what has occurred in Jhansie, that I shall venture to put it at some length before the reader. From the description of what has occurred and is occurring in that province, it may be understood how the introduction of the same law worked in the older provinces in the earlier years of our rule. And any one who possesses even to a feeble degree the capacity of putting himself in the place of others, will have no difficulty in understanding the feelings of the victims of the law. I quote the following paragraphs from the Report of the Settlement Officer of Jhansie.

444.—“ The majority of estates, and shares in estates, however, which have been alienated, and are now held by mortgagees, or by managers appointed by the Civil Court, were alienated on bonds executed, or on decrees given, on account of the debts incurred by the ancestors of the present proprietors, during the time of the Mahratta rule. But these alienations bear but a small proportion to the bonds and mortgage deeds held by the Marwarees, and other money-lenders in the district. Until quite lately, landed property has had no real value. What rights did exist were so little respected ; the tenure of landed property was so insecure ; and the demand made by the Native Governments was so excessive, that the money-lenders did not care to obtain possession of the estates of their debtors. They kept the names of the latter in their books, allowing the original loans to increase year by year, by the addition of interest and compound interest, and by renewing the bonds from time to time. In this way sums which were originally insignificant have swollen into enormous amounts ; and now the money-lenders, seeing that a settlement has been made on liberal terms, and that property is secure, are eager to get the estates of their debtors into their own hands.

445.—“ In pergunnah Mote especially, the landholders are indebted to the Marwarees and other money-lenders. In some instances, it would perhaps be the best thing that could happen, that the estates should be transferred to the money-lenders. They are capitalists, and being shrewd and intelligent, they probably would

expend money on the improvement of the estates ; whereas the proprietors are improvident and extravagant, and would, under any circumstances, always be in debt, and would mismanage their affairs. But, as a rule, the zemindars are industrious and careful ; and it would be a great hardship to them, as well as most impolitic, to allow their estates to pass into the possession of the money-lenders, in payment of debts which were incurred long ago, under peculiar circumstances, by their ancestors, and which now, owing to interest and compound interest, amount to sums which they cannot possibly pay. It should be the duty of the Courts and of the district authorities to examine most closely the accounts of these money-lenders, to strike off all illegal interest, and to make every effort possible to prevent the transfer of landed property ; to bring about a fair settlement of accounts ; and to provide for the payment of whatever may be really due by instalments, or by any other arrangement which might be agreed upon."

During the very short period that had elapsed since Jhansie had become a part of British territory, it was found at the time the Settlement Officer wrote, that out of 637 villages, 50 had been lost to their original owners. Besides these, 83 portions of villages had been transferred. Altogether it was found that 13 per cent. of the entire district had changed hands ; although, owing partly to the exertions of the local officers and partly to the ignorance of the people of the change in the law, sales in actual execution of debt had hitherto been avoided. Two years ago, however, auction sales began, and unless something is done to stop them they will no doubt, under the circumstances of the province as above described, increase with great rapidity.

In 1871 the Commissioner of the Division writes to the Revenue Board concerning this matter, as follows. After remarking on the legality of the sales in one of the districts which had been questioned, he goes on to say :—

44.—" There is another aspect of the case that should be considered, namely, the political one. It embraces the question of sale of landed property in execution of decree, not only in Jalome, but throughout the division. It is too late to question the expediency of the extension of Act VIII. of 1859 to Jhansie, and the enactment of Act XVIII. of 1867 ; but I may be permitted to say that I regard their introduction with very great regret. The country, not long emancipated from native rule, is very backward when compared with the older provinces, and it was not prepared for so great a change. If it had been possible to have prevented these Acts having retrospective effect, and limited their action to engagements made subsequent to their introduction into the division, the evil would have been comparatively slight, and the people would, at all events,

“have accepted liabilities with their eyes open, but the fact has
 “been very different. Debts incurred under a different system;
 “mortgages entered into with a looseness and ignorance of the
 “consequences, which will now only too surely ensue, are being
 “brought into Court and will be carried through to the bitter end.
 “The Marwaree knows no mercy. These bankers who originally
 “settled in the villages under the protection and patronage of the
 “Boondéla zemindars at a time when such protection was worth
 “paying highly for, and in return assisted their patrons with funds
 “on the occurrence of marriages or other high festivals, now find
 “their former patrons at their feet. The old thakoors will be sold
 “up. The running accounts of many years will be brought for-
 “ward, instalments ignored, and whether true or false they cannot
 “be disproved by the zemindars, who never kept any accounts.
 “District officers will but rarely be able under Section 244 to save
 “the ancestral property from passing into other hands, and seven
 “or eight years hence, perhaps earlier, the land will be in the hands
 “of those money-lenders who will prove a source of weakness to
 “the State, who are proverbially the worst landlords, and who will
 “carry rack-renting to its utmost limit.”

In the older provinces of the North-West, the evil has been so fully acknowledged and the need of a remedy has been so long manifest, that it is hardly necessary to weary the reader with quotations. But I may be excused for laying before him the following passage from Mr. Auckland Colvin's memorandum on the revision of settlements, as it shows clearly that, great as it already is, the evil of the transfer of land from the ancient proprietors to the trading classes is yet but the small cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the herald of the storm, and not the storm itself.

Although they have lost their proprietary rights, in many cases the old zemindars have continued to cultivate their ancestral fields. The custom and feeling of the people, with the absence of any ready method of raising the rent, have protected them hitherto from enhancement and rack-renting.

All this, as Mr. Colvin has well shown, is passing away. We are doing our utmost to destroy the custom, to uproot the feeling. We have provided the landlords with a cheap and speedy process of enhancement. They are beginning to know their strength and to wield the weapon we have placed in their grasp with no feeble hand.

“A growing habit,” says Mr. Colvin, “of raising rent has tended to weaken the feeling of respect with which prescription had clothed the old occupant cultivator. Hence, though the landlord of our generation is slow to use his new powers, he is gradually being brought to appreciate them. When as yet we

hear of rents greatly rising, we may, I take it, pretty generally assume, that they are rising either when they are taken in kind, and where the effect of higher prices is felt immediately; or that they are rising on tenants-at-will; or on those classes which, though vested by Act X. of 1859 with rights of occupancy, are mere creatures of the landlord, *servum pecus*, kachees, malees, and such like. The old tradition still protects the former *quasi*-proprietary bodies; or if the tradition fails them, they are not slow to assist themselves. There are villages here within sixteen miles of the table at which I am writing, where it is as much as the auction-purchaser's life is worth to show his face unattended by a rabble of cudgellers. He may sue his tenants and obtain decrees for enhanced rents; but payment of those rents he will not get.

"A long series of struggles commencing in our Courts, marked in their progress certainly by affrays, and very probably ending in murder, may possibly lead him at length to the position of an English proprietor. But in defence of their old rates the Brahmin, or Rajpoot, or Syud community, as the case may be, ignorant of political economy and mindful only of the traditions which record the origin and terms of their holding, will risk property and life itself."

This, then, is the prospect that we have before us. A very large number of old families have been ruined either in the earlier days of our rule or since. Their estates have been forcibly transferred. The owners, men chiefly of the proud and warlike classes, are reduced to the condition of tenants of the grasping and usurious creditors who have in most cases purchased their estates. Hitherto they have been to a great extent shielded from enhancement, and have retained some of their former privileges in the shape of a low rate of rent. This last remnant of dignity and comfort is now being snatched from them, and from him that hath not is being taken even that which he seemeth to have. When to this is added, that the class thus described is daily on the increase, that the latest returns published show a large augmentation in the number of transfers, has not enough been said? Is it not time to step out of the old grooves? There are breakers ahead. They are clearly seen. Let us 'bout the ship, and strive to get her out of the current that is hurrying her on to them while we can. The events of 1857 brought the question of the transfer of land very forcibly home to the minds of many men. It was taken up by the Government, and underwent very considerable discussion in England and India. The result, however, was very much like the result of many of our discussions. A large file was made, duly docketed, and tied up *secundum artem* with the fitting length of red tape. But nothing was done. The lawyer and political econo-

mist had it their own way. It is always very easy to give a hundred good reasons for doing nothing. And proposals for '*laissez aller*' have the advantage of appealing to the natural timidity and indolence of some men, and to the weariness and want of leisure of others. Notwithstanding the advice of many eminent men, it was decided to leave the law alone, and to trust all to Providence and Section 244 of the Civil Procedure Code. It was trying to stop a torrent with a straw. To show the different views held at that time, I cannot do better than quote from the very able minute in which Sir George Edmonstone summed up the discussion, and gave his judgment against any material alteration in the law.

"30. The objections made to such alienations in this country rest apparently on political and economical grounds.

"31. The objections seem to be—

1st.—That the practice, not being in accordance with native feeling, nor with the customs of Native Governments, produces discontent, and impairs the loyalty and good will of the old hereditary families.

2nd.—That, under its operation, these influential families are supplanted by interlopers of the mercantile class, who are viewed with dislike by the tenantry, and in times of difficulty are unable to aid the Government in the suppression of disturbances.

3rd.—That indebtedness is encouraged among the people by the ready and adequate security which the land offers.

"32. Others may be stated, but these are the principal objections.

"33. Now, it cannot be denied that, during the disturbances of 1857-58, the auction-purchasers of landed estates in these provinces were generally ejected from the possessions of their acquired rights by the former proprietors, and from this the discontent and disloyalty of the latter may be inferentially ascribed to the 'direct and constant action of Government institutions in depriving them of their ancient possessions.' But on a wider view it must be admitted that the forcible extension of the interloping purchasers could not have been attributable to the operation of this cause only. For in Bengal the practice, which it is sought to condemn, prevails at the least to the same extent as in these provinces, while sales for realisation of revenue, which are no less opposed to native feeling than sales in execution of decrees, are much more absolutely and relentlessly carried out than here. Yet, whatever the natural dissatisfaction arising from the alienation of ancestral lands, the loyalty and the good will of the people were not impaired, or, to speak more precisely, there was no overt manifestation of disloyalty among the people of Bengal proper. *That* was confined to Behar, the people of which are of the same classes, character, and creed, and have the same customs as those found in these provinces and Oude.

"34. Again, to take an instance the other way, there is no part of the country where disturbances were more universal, or were more indubitably traced to the resident population, or where disorder continued so long prevalent, as the districts of the Jhansie and the Jubbulpore Divisions, and yet in no district of those divisions, Humeerpore alone excepted, is there any recognized right of property in the land; and of course no sale of rights in land, whether for realisation of revenue, or in execution of civil decrees, has ever occurred. Those districts were just as seriously and generally disturbed as the districts of Banda and Humeerpore, where the practice in question does prevail, and this is all the more remarkable because many of the landholders in the Jubbulpore and Jhansie Divisions, besides enjoying exemption from process against their lands in satisfaction of their debts, hold on a privileged tenure known as 'oobaree' and pay a mere quit-rent.

"35. It seems to me therefore that, however true it may be in theory that the loyalty and good will of the people must be impaired by 'the direct and constant action of Government institutions in depriving them of their ancestral possessions,' the events of 1857-58 do not justify the inference that the disturbances in these provinces were aggravated by the operation of that cause. The restraints of law and authority were withdrawn; the prevailing impression I believe to have been that our rule was extinguished; and just as the viler classes of the population took to indiscriminate plunder and violence, so the old proprietors took the opportunity of resuming possession of what had ceased to be their property only under the execution of a law and a system which were in complete abeyance, and in their belief had come to an end.

"36. The second proposition is one that can hardly be denied. It is certain that the old hereditary landholders do exercise an influence in their own villages and in their neighbourhood, such as the new men, belonging to the mercantile classes, can seldom acquire, and that they are consequently better able to support the Government in time of difficulty. In a political sense, therefore, it is for the interest of Government to protect the old hereditary proprietors in the possession of their ancestral estates, and to maintain in their integrity the coparcenary communities which are found, more or less, in all the districts of these provinces.

"37. But the question arises whether the Government is warranted in working out a political end by legislation, the justice of which, as it seems to me, can hardly be defended, and this question, I apprehend, can be answered in one way only. If it be a true and a just principle that the whole of a man's property is liable for his *bond fide* obligations, I do not see how the Government can, with propriety, violate that principle, and deprive

creditors of the ultimate security for recovery of their loans, in order that the hands of the executive may be strengthened.

"38. Again, whether, in an economical point of view, the transfer, which is gradually going on, of lands into the hands of capitalists is an unqualified evil must be doubted. In theory, at least, it must be held to be beneficial to the interests of agriculture and commerce, and to the general prosperity of the country; and many instances, I have little doubt, could be cited in which the improved management and the larger resources of an intelligent and enterprising capitalist have produced very satisfactory results. 'There can be little doubt,' as Mr. Strachey says, 'that the new proprietors are generally men of greater wealth and intelligence than their predecessors. The greatest possible of evils in any country is that the proprietors of land should be unable to undertake any works for its improvement, and the curse of landholders impotent for good is doubly heavy in a country which is almost entirely an agricultural one.'

"39. Passing on to the third proposition, I must express my belief to be that were the sale of lands for recovery of debt absolutely prohibited, there would be no diminution of indebtedness among the people. The only effect would be greater recklessness on the part of borrowers, and greater rapacity on the part of the money-lenders. In the Saugor and Nerbudda territories (Jubbulpore), where the land is not liable to process of attachment and sale, the pecuniary embarrassments of the people are said to be excessive, beyond comparison greater than those of the landholders in these provinces. There, to use Mr. Reade's words, 'recklessness and dishonesty have no bounds. There is no sense of liability. Whatever may be the terms of a loan, they are accepted. The tenure of the land is safe, so long as the Government lien is discharged. The creditor cannot oust, and sooner or later is glad to make a compromise. Thus capital is expended on personal gratification. Agricultural enterprise, if it does not recede, does not pass over traditional bounds. There is no improvement, no progress.'

"40. In the district of Neemuch, too, where similarly proprietary right in the land is not recognised, the same state of indebtedness among the landholders obtains, and these two instances afford the strongest possible presumption that, were the alienation of land for recovery of debt put a stop to, there would not be one debtor the less among the landholders of these provinces. They would borrow nevertheless, but at more exorbitant rates of interest than even now are extorted from them."

The great authority on the other side was Sir W. Muir, then the Junior Member of the Revenue Board. With him were men like the late Mr. Mayne, men intimately acquainted with the people, and capable of forming a judgment on the plain facts before them

without being led away by any *a priori* considerations, or any prejudices in favor of so-called principles of economy or jurisprudence.

What Sir W. Muir's views were at that time may be gathered from the following paragraphs of a memorandum written by him in 1858:—

“7. But whether regarded by the natives to be right or to be wrong, the practical result of these sales has been equally disastrous. They contributed seriously to the embarrassment of Government and to the confusion and disorder of the days of anarchy. They proved an eminent source of weakness. This is a fresh argument against the present system, superadded to the evils that were already felt to call for the adoption of all possible means for checking the frequency of sales and permanent transfers.

“8. I am of opinion that a material restraint upon these sales may be devised without injustice and in complete conformity with the habits and prepossessions of the people; and that debts may be to a great extent adjusted without resort to sale.

“9. I would not place any restriction on the direct and voluntary alienation by proprietors of their land; or on the action of the Courts in enforcing deeds of such alienation. But I would confine the action of the Courts, so far as causing permanent alienation, strictly to cases of direct and absolute sale.”

Such were the views of Sir William (then Mr.) Muir. And it is impossible not to wish that they had been carried into effect. For fortune is like the Sybil. She comes with her opportunities for doing good, and offers to us the power and occasion of righting that which is wrong. If we reject her terms she may come again, and it may be yet once again. But each time that she comes the gift in her hand is less, while the price she asks is more. Till at last when the experience of years compels us to recognise the worth of the proffered gift, we have to purchase a small remnant of the boon once held out to us at a cost of toil, danger, and difficulty a hundredfold more than would have won it at first.

The arguments used with such fatal power by Sir George Edmonstone in the minute I have quoted are those against which it will be necessary to fight now, if we wish to stop the alienation of land. It is expedient, therefore, to examine them in some detail.

Now, in the first place, it may be as well to say that Sir George Edmonstone did not attempt to deny or to slur over the existence of the evil. He did, indeed, doubt whether the alienation of land had much to do with the disturbances of 1857. He pointed out that in places such as Lower Bengal where compulsory sale was frequent, the people were not actively disloyal. While in divisions such as Saugor and Jhansie and Jubbulpore, where no property in

the soil had been recognised, and such transfers were impossible, the population rose almost to a man. But what does this argument amount to? Simply to this, that the alienation of land was not the only cause of revolt—a position which is not disputed. But if the matter is enquired into village by village, it will, I think, be found that those villages in which auction-purchasers had ousted the old proprietary families were foremost in the fray. Listen to the description that is given by Sir George himself of the state of these old proprietors, and then say whether it is wonderful that they should have seized the opportunity opened out to them by the anarchy of the time. "The ruin," he writes, "of the hereditary proprietor is complete before his land is sold. The unrelenting action of the Civil Court ejects him from his property and reduces him to the condition of a mere tenant-at-will. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he is rack-rented; and, unable to take to other than agricultural occupations, he has no means of improving his circumstances." Where should we look for rebels unless among a class such as this? What is wanting to make a revolution when there are thousands of men in so desperate a condition, but a Catiline to lead them? It is hard to understand how Sir George Edmonstone, knowing the state and number of the ousted proprietors to be what it was, could seriously argue that the compulsory alienation of land had not produced discontent and had not aggravated the disturbances in these provinces. If it could be shown that disloyalty was not produced, that discontent was not engendered, that the loyalty and good will of the old hereditary families was not impaired by the sale law, one of the main arguments for an alteration in the law would be gone. But I am bold to say that it neither has been nor can be shown; and that it is impossible to reconcile Sir George Edmonstone's arguments with the facts as stated by himself.

That the influential families are supplanted by interlopers of the mercantile class, who are viewed with dislike, while the old families are still looked up to by the peasantry as their natural leaders, is admitted. The political weakness arising from this state of things is also acknowledged. But to meet this, two arguments are adduced. The first, which I may call the lawyers' argument, is in the mouth of everybody who opposes the prohibition of compulsory sale. The whole of a man's property, it is asserted, is liable for his *bonâ fide* obligations. And the Government, it is urged, is not warranted in working out a political end by legislation, the justice of which cannot be defended. There is a good deal of confusion in this argument. It is not proposed, and so far as I can understand never was proposed, to save a man from paying his just debts. Nor has it been intended by a retrospective enactment to annul mortgages or conditional sales that

have already been concluded. Where then is the injustice? What possible injustice is there in enacting that for the future land will not be sold in execution of decrees for debts incurred after the passing of the measure? If that is unjust, then the abolition of purchase in the army was pregnant with injustice. Yet, among the many objections pressed against that measure, the cry of injustice to the money-lenders to whom future commissions became of no value as a security was never raised. If then care is taken, as no doubt it will be taken, that past transactions are held good, this argument falls at once to the ground; and it is as reasonable to talk, in connection with the abolition of compulsory sales, of injustice to money-lenders as it would be so to talk with regard to entailed estates in England. The second argument brought to counterbalance the admission of a political evil in the alienation of land, is one derived entirely from the imagination of the disputants. It is assumed that capitalists improve their estates, and it is then asserted that transfer of land to them must be beneficial to the country. Imagination transports them to Ireland or some such place. On one side of the picture are a crowd of rioting, whiskey-drinking, fox-hunting spendthrifts, who cannot find money to mend their fences, or repair the thatch of their farm buildings. On the other side enter the canny Scotch farmer, the wealthy trader eager to become a landlord, the thrifty and moneyed Jew. The fences are mended, the buildings repaired, the tenants encouraged. Steam ploughs, threshing machines and drain-pipes take the place of the hunters and fox-hounds and claret bottles. To use the cant phrase, the resources of the country are developed.

But in India, we have not capitalists of this stamp.

I have seen a good many districts in the North-West, and it has been my fate to plod laboriously over hundreds of estates. I cannot call to mind a single instance in which one of these capitalist landlords did anything to improve his estate or better his tenantry. I think what has been my experience is the experience of the whole settlement staff. Undoubtedly, when these new men have obtained an estate much out of cultivation, they have brought hands on to it and broken up the waste. But that I take it is not what is meant by works of improvement. What your banya understands by improving his estate, is increasing the rental. That he is very willing and ready to do, by every means in his power. Whether it is beneficial to the country or not is another thing which I leave to the reader to decide.

The argument, then, against the system of sale, in so far as it rests on the political evils arising from it, if not unanswerable, has not at any rate yet been answered. Nor are the upholders of the compulsory sale of land likely to find a more able exponent

and champion than the late Sir George Edmonstone to carry their standard. It is to remedy the political evil that an alteration of the law is urgently demanded.

The question whether the abolition of sale would increase the indebtedness of the landowners, is a difficult one, and at present more or less of a speculative character. One thing is certain, that if the money-lender knows that he can only get possession of the estate for a term of years, he will diminish the amount of his loan accordingly. The landowner will be able to get less money on the security of his estate. But it does not necessarily follow that he will have to pay a higher rate of interest. The value of the security will not be affected although the amount will be diminished. The arguments drawn from the Saugor and Nerbudda and other territories where proprietary right was not recognised at all are entirely beside the question. The people there have or had no security to give. They are in the position of the cultivators in other places, and the money-lender can only look to their personal effects, their cooking vessels and their cattle. There is, therefore, no meaning in the argument that, because the rate of interest is high, and borrowing reckless in those territories where there is no proprietary right in the land, that, therefore, to stop the permanent alienation of land for recovery of debt in other places where such right does exist will not diminish indebtedness. It is obvious on the face of it that it must diminish the borrowing power of the landowners; and, what is more to the purpose, it must take away the great inducement which leads the usurers to advance money so lavishly. The way in which the present law works is nowhere better illustrated than in the following passage from Sir George Edmonstone's minute:—

"42. Another cause, no doubt, of the pecuniary embarrassment of land-holders, and the consequent alienation of their ancestral property, is their ignorance and improvidence, and the knavery and rapacity of the professional money-lenders. Funds are wanted as an advance for the payment of revenue, or for the celebration of a marriage. The money-lender is resorted to, and the necessities of the borrower enable him to dictate his own terms. Enormous interest is stipulated for, and a mortgage on the landed property of the borrower is demanded. Time passes; interest accumulates; the borrower is forgetful of consequences; the lender, ever watchful, waits his opportunity, and when the debt, with interest on interest, has amounted to a sum about equal to the value of the hypothecated property, the machinery of the civil courts is called into action, and the ruin of the borrower is consummated.

"43. A striking instance of this kind is given in the letter from Mr. C. Currie, the late Officiating Collector of Boolundshuhur, and there is not a district in which very brief inquiry would not discover dozens of similar cases. It is deplorable that knavery of this kind

should be rampant, and that its success should be due, in great measure, to the action of our own institutions, but the remedy does not lie in placing restrictions on the transfer of landed property."

But, while the description of the facts is graphic and accurate, the conclusion arrived at is, I cannot but think, erroneous. Surely it is the desire of getting possession of the estates of their debtors that causes the money-lenders to play this waiting game. If they could hope for nothing but a temporary transfer sufficient to clear off the debt, and no more, they would hardly allow it to accumulate so long.

But it will be said that the rate of interest must rise if land cannot be sold for debt. This danger is, I think, to some extent exaggerated. It is not as if land were to be withdrawn altogether from the market as a security. Every landowner will still be able to borrow to the extent of the value of a lease of his estate for a certain number of years. And it is a question whether the diminution of the amount of good security available will not lead to a rise in the value of that security and a consequent fall in the rate of interest. Certainly, a large amount of capital which now finds a good investment in land, will no longer be able to find such an investment. It is possible that the result may be to the advantage of the borrower, and to raise the value of land.

It will here be said that to diminish the borrowing power of the landowners is to stop agricultural improvement; and that it will be absolutely injurious to the whole country. But is there any foundation for the assumption that the borrowed money is spent on agricultural improvements. It is to be feared there is none whatever. The money is expended on marriages, on maintaining a number of lazy relatives in idleness, and on debauchery. Very little has been invested in remunerative works, or in any way connected with agriculture. The expenditure is entirely unproductive, and any measure that would compel capitalists to divert more money to productive trade cannot fail to be beneficial.

There is, however, another light in which it may seem prejudicial to curtail the borrowing power of our landlords. There are some who say that much money is borrowed simply to pay the Government revenue. It is hinted that any difficulty thrown in the way of the borrower will be a difficulty in the way of the Collector also. If this is true, surely it is the greatest reproach that could be brought against our Government. If we have so put together our system of revenue administration that the landowner must borrow, and if the sale law is to be kept up in order that he may have security to borrow on, the sooner the whole system is disposed of the better. It is only necessary, one would suppose, to prove the existence of such a state of things in order to ensure its destruction.

But in spite of the high authorities for this view, which has been supported among others by Mr. (now Sir John) Strachey, I do not think, at the present time at any rate, this charge can be fairly brought against our administration. If the pressure of our revenue system drives the landowners into debt, it must be from one of two causes. Either the assessment is immoderately high, or our system of collection must be bad. There is no third cause that can exist. As to the assessment, I think it can hardly be maintained that it has been high during the last twenty years. Our first assessments were undoubtedly oppressive in some districts, and led, especially after a lighter settlement had been made, to very extensive transfers of land. For the lighter the settlement the more eager are the banyas to become landowners. The settlement of the North-West now expiring was a little severe at first in more than one district. It was, however, largely reduced, and the increase of cultivation with the rise in prices and rents soon made it light. Sales nevertheless have continued and are on the increase.

Our system of collecting the revenue was, up to the year 1846 or thereabouts, barbarous in the extreme. The demand for revenue forestalled the crops. The landowner was not permitted to gather an ear of grain until his revenue instalment was paid. He was consequently forced to borrow, if he cultivated his own land, and was obliged in any case to compel his tenants to borrow. Mr. R. M. Bird put an end to this injustice; but only so far as the landowners were concerned. The tenants gained nothing. They are still obliged to discount their crops at a very heavy loss in order to pay their rent. But as a rule this does not directly affect the landowner. The debt is incurred by the cultivator.

Although, therefore, our system is extremely faulty in this respect, so far as the cultivator is concerned, I fail to see that the debts of the landowner can be charged to it. It is, indeed, rigorous and machine-like in its working. Arrears are not suffered. The uttermost farthing of the assessment is exacted. But when the assessment is fair, a rigorous system of collection is rather a prevention of debt than an encouragement to thriftlessness. It is true that the demand being nearly simultaneous over a vast extent of country necessarily affects the money-market, and hence, at the time when it is most needed, money is only to be had at double the ordinary rate of interest. But this again tells chiefly on the cultivator, and is not likely to have had any serious influence on the alienation of proprietary rights in land.

Indirectly, no doubt, our revenue system is to blame. We collect the money punctually and rigorously, and under the terror of compulsory sale of the land for default. The landowner who has anticipated or spent his rents, and falls into arrears, goes to the banya

and borrows from him, knowing that he will thus gain time, at any rate, more time than he can possibly hope for from the Collector. The beginning of the catastrophe may therefore be laid to the charge of the revenue system. But to what part of the revenue system? Surely to the compulsory sale law. If there was no fear of the auction sale, it is possible that the defaulter might prefer to submit to any process enforced by Government rather than trust himself to the tender mercies of his money-lending friends.

It is not improbable that a searching inquiry and a large collection of facts would show that lightly assessed and even revenue-free estates come to the hammer almost as often as those that have been overburdened by the settlement officer. In any case, the argument that the landowner must borrow in order to pay the revenue, is a very bad argument against the abolition of compulsory sale. If he is compelled so to borrow by any fault in our administration, that fault should be remedied at once. If there is any such fault, I think it is the use of compulsory sale as a revenue process. Once freed from the apprehension of that danger, it is at least possible that the embarrassed landowner would prefer a temporary sequestration of his profits in favour of Government, to surrendering himself to the clutches of the usurers.

The arguments for maintaining the present state of things have, it is hoped, been shown to admit of refutation. Something more, however, is wanted in this case than mere destructive criticism. How is the change to be made? How is a new system to be introduced? I am free to confess that as soon as an attempt is made to put the principles advocated in this paper into practice, many difficulties arise to meet us on the very threshold. I hope to show that these difficulties can be overcome. They must be overcome unless we prefer to face others many times greater hereafter.

The first step to take—a step without which no progress can be made—is that of abolishing the sale of land for arrears of revenue. It is a process very seldom used in the North-West or Punjab. Under our present assessments it is impossible, unless arrears are negligently allowed to accumulate for years, that sale should be necessary for the recovery of the public revenue. A temporary sequestration of profits, or a transfer for ten or fifteen years, would be sufficient in all cases. It is probably impossible to show that it is necessary to retain the power of putting estates up to auction for arrears. But several reasons may be given for its expediency. It is sometimes useful as a means of getting rid of men who are hopelessly involved, and of giving a clear title to the purchaser, who gets the estate free of all encumbrances. It will also be said by some revenue officers, that sale although seldom put in force, is not without active effect in making the

collection of the revenue easy. The answer to this has been in a measure anticipated by what has been said above regarding the assertion that men are compelled to borrow to pay the revenue. We profess to leave the landlord forty-five per cent. of the rental in the Punjab, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces. If it is necessary to sell the estates by auction in order to recover the Government share, either the share taken by Government is too heavy and more than the people can pay, or it has been erroneously calculated. The former alternative will hardly meet with much support at the present time. If the latter is true, then the assessment ought to be revised. But to promise a man forty-five per cent. of the rental, and to sell him up because we have not fulfilled the promise, is hardly consistent.

It must be conceded that there is no just ground for distinction between the public and the private creditor, and that unless the lien of Government upon the land for its revenue be relinquished, the sale of land in satisfaction of private debts, must be permitted, whatever restrictions may be imposed on it. But Government, I think, can and should give up the power of sale, and so pave the way for that other change in the law which good policy so urgently demands. The abolition of sale for arrears of revenue is a simple matter requiring only a small alteration in the law. The abolition of sale for private debts is a much more complex affair, and no attempt will be made to conceal or extenuate the difficulty of carrying it out.

There are two distinct matters to be provided for. First, it must be decided in what way debts are to be satisfied that were contracted when execution could be had by sale of the land. Secondly, rules must be laid down for the future, of such a character as not to deprive the landowner of all powers of borrowing, while they secure the land from compulsory sale by auction.

As to debts already incurred, and conditional sales or mortgages already transacted, it must be admitted that to prohibit the sale of the land in satisfaction of them would be a measure the policy of which would hardly suffice to cover its injustice. The proposition is not tenable, and has never, it is believed, been promulgated by any statesman of responsibility.

All that we can do with regard to this class of encumbrances on the land is to enforce their immediate registration before a date to be fixed by law, and so prevent the fraudulent addition of debts really incurred after the new law comes into force. As a preliminary measure, therefore, it will be necessary to register in the Collector's office all claims against landowners whether secured by deed on the land, or only of the nature of simple debts. The revenue authorities will take no measures to ascertain the justice of these claims, and their registration must be

expressly excluded by law from being used as evidence in favour of them. The truth of the claim will be decided if the matter comes into court just as if the registration had never been made, so far as the plaintiff is concerned. But as no unregistered claim will be executed by sale, a strong presumption will exist in favour of a defendant who contests a claim that has not been registered.

Moreover, the law of limitation regarding these registered claims must be left as it is. If a period is laid down after which no sale in execution shall be allowed without regard to the time at which the debt was contracted, the result must be to the injury of the debtors, and a large number of transfers will take place, many of which might, perhaps, be avoided, especially as the landowners would have every inducement to pay off the registered claims. Decrees given on account of debts contracted prior to the law being altered, must then, if the above argument is sound, be left to take their course. Something, however, ought to be done to mitigate the evils resulting from the numerous transfers that must take place, and to prevent the depreciation of the value of the land sold, that is sure to occur if a large number of estates are brought at once to the hammer. In this part of the measure, namely, in dealing with debts already contracted, the great difficulty we have to meet is that arising from the rush that creditors will make to the courts. However careful we are to leave the security of old debts untouched, the suspicions of creditors will be aroused. So radical a change in our system cannot fail to suggest the probability of further alteration. Men will make haste to sell the estates of their debtors while they can. It is hoped that this will be kept in mind, as one of the objects of the scheme I have to put forward in this paper is to meet this difficulty.

Turning now to the second class of debts—those that may be incurred after the alteration of the law—the obstacle that meets us is this, that any restrictions we impose on compulsory transfer may only lead to a large increase in the number of so-called voluntary sales. No man, it is presumed, sells or mortgages his estate until necessity, from whatever cause arising, compels him to it. If, then, he is prevented from raising the money he requires, because his land cannot be sold in execution, he will resort, or rather he must resort, to a direct sale. Even that would be preferable in many ways to the present state of things. Estates would probably change hands for something like their real value: and the embarrassed landowner would receive a large sum of money down, instead of being ousted after a number of years on account of a claim made up to a great extent of compound interest. The Government, moreover, would no longer appear as the executioner of the usurer, and would no longer incur the odium of carrying

out compulsory sales through its own officers and in its own courts. It would be possible also for the landowner so parting with his estate to secure himself in the occupation of his own farm, or to retain for himself, according to the common custom of the country, some little allowance in money or land, sufficient to secure his family from absolute starvation. The auction sale allows of none of these things. No remnant of a right, no shadow or rag of a privilege, is left to the wretch whose land the court has ordered to be sold.

But one very great, perhaps the greatest, political evil arising from the present state of things, is the character of the men to whom the great majority of transferred estates are passing. Nothing can be conceived in the shape of a landlord worse than the money-lender or trader who has purchased an estate. He has no sympathy or fellow-feeling of any sort with his people. He seldom resides on his estate. He regards the tenants much as the worst class of Southern slaveholders regarded their slaves. He looks upon them as things given over to him by Providence for the production of rupees. And if he does not kill them outright, it is only because he has learnt wisdom from the fable of the goose that laid the golden eggs. I have done all I can to oppose the attacks that have been made on the rights that we have conceded and confirmed to the landowners. But if this is the class of men who are to become our landowners—and, unless a speedy alteration in the law is made, very few of any other class will be left—we shall be compelled sooner or later to sweep them away.

But a measure confined to the mere abolition of compulsory sale will, I fear, tend if anything to accelerate the transfer of proprietary rights to this very class of men. It will, therefore, be futile so far as the remedy of what I conceive to be the worst evil in the present system is concerned. What then is to be done?

Another very great difficulty meets us on the threshold of the proposal to abolish sale of land for debt. We must, I suppose, allow some execution against landed property. The temporary alienation of land for debt is open to this objection, that if the creditors or traders who now purchase the land sold in execution of decrees rack-rent their land, how much more will they rack-rent if they know that they have only a short and fixed period in which to recover their money. They will have no interest in the estate beyond that period. It will matter nothing to them, so long as they recover their money, if they leave the land a desert and every tenant in the condition of a pauper. It will be said that the tenants are sufficiently protected by the rent-law. I fear this is a delusion. If we have failed in anything we have failed in protecting the tenantry against the oppression of rich and powerful landowners. While whole bodies of tenantry

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are found to disclaim rights of occupancy that they know belong to them by law, at the bidding of their landlords ; and will pay four rupees as rent, knowing that the village accountant only records two, it is vain to talk of the protection of the rent-law. The probability is that all or most of the estates so transferred for debt will be rack-rented as severely as a merciless combination of chicanery and violence can effect. And that probability is a very serious obstacle to the proposed alteration of the law.

One thing, therefore, appears clear, that any measure to be of use must go much further than the mere abolition of sale in execution for debt. We must either forbid the alienation of land altogether, and give the landowners only a life-interest in the estate, or we must devise some other measure to meet the difficulty.

To stop the alienation of land altogether is unadvisable, even if there was any chance of such a measure being carried. Land is not always transferred to money-lenders and usurers. Nor is it to be hoped, or assumed, that our trading classes will always make as bad landlords as they do now. The idea of prohibiting the alienation of land under any conditions must be put aside as impracticable. What is wanted is a more elastic measure, one that will accommodate itself not only to changes in the country and times, but to the conditions of each case as it may arise. It appears to me that such a measure may be found, by an extension of a right familiar, I believe, to the people of all India and acknowledged by them to be just,—I allude to the right of pre-emption.

The Government of India is by legal fiction if not in fact the owner of the soil. It may be regarded at any rate as possessing a share in every estate. An assertion of the right of pre-emption on behalf of Government would not, I venture to say, alarm the prejudices or outrage the feelings of the people. I believe that if we start from that as our basis, the difficulties attending any alteration in the sale law will be met, and the measure will become capable of being made both popular and beneficial not only to the embarrassed debtors, who are, perhaps, the people least to be thought of, but to the unfortunate tenants of their estates, who, without any fault of their own, are handed over to the most hard-hearted of task-masters.

The first thing, then, is to give the Government of India a legal right of pre-emption to all land. The second step, the abolition of the sale of land in execution of decrees, will then be easy.

This proposal will probably have an alarming sound to some ears. A little consideration will, however, show that the scheme is not of a very gigantic nature, and that it is one capable of contraction or extension at pleasure. The right of pre-emption does not imply

any necessity of purchasing, or of exercising the right. But the possession of it will put the Government in a most commanding position, and will enable it to apply a remedy to the worst instances of hardship that occur, even if it sees fit to go no further.

The details of the measure might be something as follows. No sale of any kind, conditional or direct, or by decree of court should be final unless an offer of the land had first been made to the Government, and declined by it. A certain percentage of profit should be laid down, say, ten per cent. ; and unless a careful valuation of the estate showed that the rental would yield that profit, the Government should in ordinary cases refuse to buy. On becoming owners of the estate, there would be several courses open to pursue. If the outgoing proprietors were men of family and influence, or there was any special reason for wishing to maintain them, it would be easy to make a settlement with them on terms sufficient to yield the required amount of profit. Their position under such an arrangement would be vastly better than any they could hope for did their land pass to the hands of any private purchaser.

If, again, the outgoing proprietor had himself purchased the estate, or was a man of bad character, or one whom it was thought better to get rid of, a settlement could always be made on very advantageous terms with the hereditary tenants. A very large portion of the Etawah district was so settled, after the breaking up of the estates of the larger talookdars in 1839, and the plan has worked admirably as a rule.

If neither of these courses was approved, the estate could be held under the direct management of the Collector or farmed to one of the best landlords in the neighbourhood. In any case the Government would have an ample opportunity of making such arrangements as would protect the old proprietors in their cultivating rights, and save the tenants from oppression. The occasions that Government would thus have of showing itself in the character of a friend would be many. Take for instance the very common case of an estate sold at auction much below its real value and bought by the judgment-creditor himself. Such sales are seldom widely advertised. Even when it is well known that certain land is to be sold, an influential man has only to announce his intention of buying it to stop all real competition. Such cases are much more likely to occur within the period immediately subsequent to the passing of a law abolishing the compulsory sale of land in satisfaction of future debts. The immediate effect of such a law will be, as has been said, to cause a rush of creditors to the courts. Many estates will be put up to sale, and in all probability will sell cheap for want of purchasers. The right of pre-emption would enable Government to take over all estates that

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were sold below their value, and to make such arrangements with the owners as would at any rate save them from utter ruin.

There were some cases brought to notice some time ago by the *Indian Observer* that were good instances in which such a right might have been exercised with admirable effect. In one of them a conditional sale was enforced for a sum of three thousand five hundred rupees against the Thakoor proprietors of a village. The money-lender on obtaining possession raised the rental so as to have a net profit of nine hundred. The Thakoors, who were a body of cultivating proprietors, would far rather pay that amount to the Collector, and be left virtually in their position as zemindars with their small manorial rights untouched, than become the tenants of a man who will make them feel that he is the master every hour in the day. But in point of fact if the estate had passed to Government under the proposed scheme, a profit of ten per cent., amounting to three hundred and fifty rupees, would have been added to the revenue previously paid by them, and they would have been gainers by nearly six hundred rupees a year.

In estates thus purchased by Government, there would remain to the ex-proprietors, no matter whether the estate was settled with them or not, no proprietary right which they could again pledge or transfer. They ought, however, in most cases to be maintained in possession of their manorial rights, their grazing, their fisheries, and their wood; and, on the other hand, all public duties now exacted from zemindars should be rigorously demanded of them. Especially in police matters a great advantage would thus be gained. The new and non-resident landowner, who is generally at war with his tenants, or at best has no personal influence with them, is useless to the Magistrate and the police officer. Under the proposed plan, although he would be called on to pay a heavier revenue, and would no longer have a transferable interest in the estate, the old zemindar would be the zemindar still. No one would have come between him and his tenants. Whatever power or influence in the village he had before, would still be his.

It would also be in the power of Government to hold out to the ex-proprietors an inducement to industry and good management that has never yet been held out to them. The payment of ten per cent. on the price paid for the estate would be a necessary part of any agreement between them and the Government. But it might often be in their power to pay more. It should be a part of the scheme that, when the estate was re-settled with the ex-proprietors, any payment that they might agree to make, over and above the minimum profit required, should form a sinking fund to repay the Government and to buy back the full proprietary right in the land. There is little doubt that in many cases the old proprietors might recover their land by this means in a com-

paratively short period. At all events the hope and possibility would always remain present to them, stimulating them to continued industry and more vigorous exertion. Nor can it be doubted that the rôle that would be thus assumed by Government is more benevolent than that which it now plays, of the executioner called in by Shylock to cut him his pound of flesh.

After the abolition of compulsory sale by decree of court, and when the old debts had been either collected or barred by limitation, the right of pre-emption could only be exercised in the case of conditional sales, or direct voluntary transfers. If, however, it is to be expected, as I think it is, that these transfers will increase in consequence of the abolition of compulsory sale, the right will still be as much needed and will have as wide a field for its exercise. No other means that I can imagine will give the Government the power of preventing the transfer of land to classes whose possession of it as landowners is a growing evil both to the people and the Government; and at the same time will admit of its transfer to persons against whom there are no such objections.

There are two grounds on which it is probable that opposition will be raised to this proposal. In the first place it will be said that in the case of sales or mortgages with conditional sale, the price will be so large or the amount will be so swelled by the addition of interest, that it will pay no one but the mortgagee or creditor himself to take the estate. In the second place it will be urged that this pre-emption scheme is only another form of a Government land bank. It would be better and shorter, it may be said, to come forward in the first instance and lend a man money on the security of his land, than to wait till he is embarrassed and has borrowed it from some one else. Both of these objections seem to me to be without good foundation. In the first one it is forgotten that compulsory alienation of land for debt will have ceased. It will no longer be the object of the money-lender to run up a long bill which he may never realise. The landowner will also have been freed from the fear of compulsory sale by the Collector, and will be under no temptation to prefer the banya to the Government as a creditor. His power of borrowing will also have been largely diminished for the same reason. Even granting, then, which I do not, that estates at present are generally transferred by compulsory or conditional sale for amounts exceeding their value, and the recovery of ten per cent. on which would be impossible, still under the new conditions this would not, nay could not, be the case. It would also be the direct interest of the embarrassed landowner, when the intention of Government was understood, to avoid putting such a price on his estate as would render its pre-emption by Government impossible. But if my surmises

turn out to be incorrect, if it is found that the price put on land, either *bond fide* or collusively, is such that Government cannot afford to purchase, what harm has been done? None whatever—the scheme will simply have failed, nothing more. But the Government will not have been involved in any embarrassment.

This consideration seems to lead naturally to the answer to the second objection. The failure of the pre-emption plan would not lead to any difficulty or loss. The failure of a Government land bank if carried on in any large way (and in any small way it will be useless,) can hardly be contemplated with like equanimity. The fact is that the two schemes are diametrically opposed in their nature. A land bank to be of any use for political purposes must lend to all landowners. If we refuse any, we may refuse the very one whose position we may afterwards most wish to save. The right of pre-emption on the other hand may be restricted within any limits that may from time to time be dictated by expediency. It is a weapon that need never be used, and yet is always ready for use when most wanted. It might be interposed at any time to save an estate which Government wished from whatever motive to preserve from strange hands. It might on the other hand be laid aside altogether.

But a Government land bank must from its very nature go on extending its business. It is hardly necessary to say what that involves—what an enormous establishment—what an addition to the already overgrown business of administration. Year by year the business would grow, the capital out on loan increase, and with it the labour of collection. Even granting that the management was perfect, that no bad debts were contracted, still it would be necessary in many cases to resort for recovery to distraint and transfer. We should have Government appearing in the most objectionable character—that of a relentless and exacting usurer. With time, the old rate of interest, and oppressions of the old money-lenders, would be forgotten. Nothing would remain but a sense of the present misery, and the dull impersonal severity with which the debts to the Government bank were collected. The very arguments that can be adduced in favour of claiming a right of pre-emption for the State tell against the institution of a public land bank.

There is another cry that will infallibly be raised against the scheme here advocated. Political economy will be called to the rescue, and I shall be accused of wishing to trample on those precepts which have to many minds in the present day a sanction greater than supports any law either of God or man. To this cry I have only to reply that it is based on an entire misconception of economic science. It may be the case, under certain conditions, that free trade in land as well as in everything else is a

good thing. It may also be the case that likewise, under certain conditions, Government interference in such matters is a bad thing. But when the conditions which Political Economy postulates do not exist as in India, what becomes of its precepts? I am content to quote the words of Mr. George Campbell (*Irish Land*, p. 164). "As to the rules of political economy, I confess that since I conducted the inquiry in Orissa, where so many were starved according to the strictest rules of that science, I have not much liked the name of it." Strictly speaking, however, it is not the science, if it is a science, that is to blame, but the somewhat stolid misapplication of it.

There is another ground on which I advocate the assertion of a right of pre-emption by the State. It is possible that English legal prejudices may be for some time longer too strong for those who wish to put an end to compulsory sale. The fight may go on for some years, and meanwhile a finishing touch will be put to the ruin of the old land-owning classes. When victory is gained, that which was fought for may be attainable no longer. But the possession of a right of pre-emption would enable the Government to meet the worst cases in the most effective way, and to stay the course of ruin, until the more effectual remedy is provided. Independently, therefore, of any alteration in the law regarding the sale of land for debt, I advocate the assertion of a right of pre-emption by the State as a thing good in itself and a power that the Government of this country ought for political reasons to have.

In the permanently settled provinces it would enable the Government by degrees, slow degrees it is true, to rid itself of an institution which is an evil to the country, as well as a source of serious embarrassment to the administration. In those provinces sale for arrears of revenue should be abolished as well as elsewhere. But every arrear should *ipso facto* involve the annulment of the settlement of the estate in arrears, and no engagement for perpetuity should in such cases be renewed. In the course of time many estates would by these combined means be released from permanent engagement.

To sum up briefly the measures I propose for the abolition of the compulsory sale of land.

1.—The Government must relinquish its right to sell land for arrears of revenue.

2.—A law must be passed giving the State a right of pre-emption to all land.

3.—All persons having claims against the owners of land, whether such claims are directly secured on the land or not, must be compelled to register all such claims before a certain date.

4.—After the passing of the law no sale of land shall be allowed

in execution of any decree for a claim not so registered, nor in respect of a transaction that occurred subsequently to the alteration in the law.

It would be a matter of no great difficulty, I think, to draft a bill on these principles that would enable the Government to carry out the new policy with ease. That it would be hailed throughout the whole of India with acclamation, and would be recognised as an earnest of our wish to govern the country as far as possible in accordance with their desires, I have no hesitation in asserting. The auction sale of land is the most hated innovation that has been introduced under British rule. The abolition of it would give the landowners a feeling of security that no permanent settlement could confer, and would bring to the Government a popularity not to be secured by any proclamations or manifestoes however gracious.

Hand in hand with this grand measure should go others designed to mitigate the evil that has already been done, and to soothe the animosities that recent laws have created between the landlords and the tenants. Such measures should be taken to secure the ousted proprietors in the occupation of their own farms at fair rents, as would suffice to save them from complete ruin. The full and original meaning of a settlement should be recognised. The settlement officer instead of being as he is now like the agitator who deserved, according to an English Bishop, to be ducked in a horse-pond, instead of setting the landlords and their tenants by the ears and then leaving them to fight out their quarrels, should have power to arrange everything, rents as well as revenue, for the term of the settlement. The present state of things has been fully described and laid bare by Mr. Colvin. And as it is probable that any one who has waded so far through this paper will have read his memorandum, I need not enlarge upon it. But the present state of things cannot be allowed to go on. It is so unintelligible that Government should send an officer to settle the revenue, and yet not empower him to settle rents, that I have heard natives attribute it to a desire to increase the stamp revenue. The settlement officer leaves behind him as he goes a train of litigation gradually widening like a ship's wake, to mark his track. Nor is there any end to the litigation. A tenant who has been sued for enhanced rent this year can be sued again next year and the next. He never knows when he is safe. On the other side the landlord is compelled to pay enhanced revenue, but if his rents are low, he is referred to a costly course of litigation. His tenants combine against him. They appeal to the judge and from the judge to the High Court. And in many cases, after spending large sums of money, the landlord finds himself where he began. If he wins, the tenants

have not only to pay enhanced rents, but the heavy costs of most expensive legal proceedings. This, forsooth, is what we are pleased to call a settlement.

It is not my intention to discuss other measures unconnected with the land, that ought in my opinion to form a part of an Indian policy. It is a wholesome maxim that of Horace—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*. And if I wished to transgress it, the limits permitted to a paper of this nature would forbid me. But I may be allowed to say that if to the land measures I have indicated were added the abolition of the income-tax, and an educational policy based chiefly on a liberal grant-in-aid system, which left the management of the schools to the people themselves, we might almost risk the empire on a *plébiscite*.

That there is much to be said for the income-tax, I admit. But there is no doubt that it is very much disliked and has caused much oppression, and is unsuited to the Oriental turn of mind. It is also, to an extent that I think we are hardly aware of, passed on to the poorest classes by both traders and landlords. There are, I think, few of the larger landlords who ever give five rupees to a dispensary or a memorial, who do not amply recoup themselves for the unwonted generosity by taxing their tenants. Anything openly imposed by Government—whether income-tax or cess—whether imperial or local taxation—is invariably collected perhaps twofold from the tenants, if they are not strong enough to resist. Most of the arguments for the tax are based on the supposition that it is a tax on the rich. It may be so in England. But the less we apply English ideas to India, the nearer we are likely to approach to the truth.

My whole argument throughout this paper is that our present system of drifting on, is widening the distance between Englishmen and natives of India. We must sacrifice some of our treasured projects and pet prejudices if we wish the gulf to close. And the sooner it is done the better.

There are other causes at work not so intimately connected with the policy of Government, but quite as active in widening the breach. I allude to the restless and discontented state of Englishmen in India generally. There is not a large station or cantonment in which the neglected look of the houses and once cared-for gardens, does not prove that India is even less a home to Englishmen than ever. In the North-West Provinces, I fear it must be admitted, that this discontent and unrest has taken as firm a hold of the members of the Civil Service, as of any other class. It would be out of place here to speak of the causes of this feeling. But I mention it, as I cannot but think that it will prove a serious evil, and a great obstacle to good administration.

I bring this paper to a conclusion in the hope that if it does

nothing else, it may set better wits to work. In the North-West Provinces the time seems auspicious for a change, and for the introduction of something like a real reform in the matters I have dealt with. Another year of office remains to the present Governor, Sir William Muir. Judging from the opinions he has formerly expressed, the last year of his service may be marked by measures of a greater magnitude than any he has yet instituted, and such as will give to this part of India that policy of reconstruction it so urgently requires.

C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE, c.s.

ART. II.—MR. STEPHEN'S MINUTE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BRITISH INDIA.

IN circulating Mr. Stephen's minute on the judicial administration, the Government of India has been careful to point out that it contains not the views of the Government, but merely Mr. Stephen's individual opinions : and it has been published mainly in the hope of provoking discussion on the various suggestions contained therein. In contributing our mite to this result, we must premise briefly that we do not purpose to follow Mr. Stephen through the various subjects he has touched on, but will confine our remarks to some of the main underlying principles on which the whole minute is constructed. Mr. Stephen has devoted many pages to a recapitulation that must be perfectly familiar to all our Indian readers.

One of the first questions discussed by Mr. Stephen is that of the division of the Covenanted Civil Service into an executive and a judicial branch. In doing this he passes under review the opinions of a number of distinguished officers both of the North-Western Provinces and of Bengal. It will be remembered by our readers that the multifarious duties imposed upon the Collector-Magistrate have within the last few years greatly increased, and at the same time the High Court, in its anxiety that the future District and Sessions Judge should acquire a familiarity with the course of judicial procedure, has been insisting that the Collector-Magistrate, or, as the fashion is now to call him, the District officer, shall perform a large amount of purely judicial work. To say nothing of the impossibility of putting more than twelve hours' work into twelve hours, there is a positive incompatibility between the two classes of work that has been very generally pointed out by Commissioners, but by none more clearly than by Mr. Montresor. His words are—"I believe, and my experience confirms my remarks, that no officer can properly perform judicial duties unless he is perfectly secure against interruption. To take and record evidence and conduct a trial to a sound conclusion demands complete concentration of the attention, unbounded patience, and complete security from interruption, which cannot be expected by the Collector-Magistrate, much, or I might say wholly, as they may be considered essential to justice and decorum. When once in office the Magistrate is never safe ; some one has invariably some object connected with his multifarious duties that must be attended to, and the Magistrate seeing and knowing this, cannot allow the whole executive machinery his district to come to a standstill." Hence, it has become

a general opinion among the officers of Lower Bengal, that after the grade of Joint-Magistrate there must in practice be a division of labour between the judicial and executive functions, and that it is advisable to recognize such in the organisation of the Service. In Lower Bengal there has been a singular unanimity as to the desirability of a distinct judicial branch. In the North-Western Provinces, while it would seem the preponderance of opinion is in favour of a division, some weighty objections are urged against it. When, however, we come to the Punjab, the necessity for a division of the Service seems to be again admitted. There, it would seem, the tendency is to sacrifice the executive duties to the judicial; while in Bengal the exactly opposite result takes place, District officers invariably neglecting the judicial in favour of the executive. Of the proposals from Madras and Bombay we shall say nothing, as in reality the whole weight of Mr. Stephen's Minute is concentrated on the Bengal system. Of the opinions quoted by Mr. Stephen in favour of such a division, several are based upon the improvements that have taken place in the qualifications of the vakils who now plead in the mofussil courts. While we thankfully acknowledge that such is the case, and admit that the rising generation of pleaders differs in the most marked manner from former practitioners, we cannot avoid thinking that Mr. Bell and others, who dwell on this point, speak rather theoretically than of what they have actually experienced. For example, we doubt very much whether Mr. Bell has himself ever found that he was incapable "of holding his ground against the advocates" that appeared to plead before him. When, therefore, he and others write about the unseemly and discreditable sight of "a mofussil bar in advance of the Bench," they are thinking not of what would or could take place before them, but of what would be the case if Civilian Judges were to continue similar to what they had experience of in their younger days. It is necessary to point to this, because Mr. Stephen's third conclusion, "that there is some danger that the regular legal education now given to Subordinate Native Judges and pleaders may cause their efficiency to contrast unfavourably with the inefficiency of the European Sessions Judges," is evidently based solely on these opinions. Further on we will consider the exact value of this boasted legal education, and we content ourselves here with merely stating that whatever superiority in legal knowledge may be possessed by modern vakils over their predecessors, a far more marked one will distinguish the men who in the course of the next seven or eight years will attain the post of District Judge, from those who at present monopolise those offices. Already we have heard it said by practising vakils that the Magistrates of the present day are far in advance of the Judges in their legal knowledge. Elsewhere Mr. Stephen admits

the marked improvement that has been effected in this respect by the introduction of the competition system ; but in drawing his conclusions, and suggesting schemes for the future, he has quietly omitted it from his consideration. There is as little reason to suppose that the qualifications of District Judges will stand still, when competition men begin to fill those offices, as to ignore the improvements in the quality of vakils that has already taken place.

In considering this part of the subject, Mr. Stephen has quoted a remark of Sir H. S. Maine, where he says,—“I do not misstate the opinion of nearly all the Judges, civilians as well as barristers, in the Bengal and North-West High Courts, when I say that they regard the great majority of the District Judges in both the provinces as shamefully inefficient.” It is the misfortune of men like Mr. Stephen and Sir H. S. Maine, in dealing with a subject of which they have no personal knowledge, that they are dependent on the opinions of other men, and very naturally ascribe greater weight to the opinion the higher the rank of the person who gives it. But such a mode of weighing opinions is exceedingly deceptive ; and we fancy we have seen cases, not once nor twice, where the Privy Council have applauded District Judges who had been censured by the High Court, and while reversing the decision of that tribunal, transferred to the shoulders of those exalted Judges the censure they had improperly and undeservedly launched against the inferior court. Any one who should go to the members of the Secretary of State's Indian Council for a true account of the actual condition of things in the India of the present day, would find himself lamentably misinformed, and so Judges of the High Court should by no means be accepted as unimpeachable authorities on the qualifications of District Judges. In speaking on the “shameful inefficiency of the District Judges,” they doubtless give a conscientiously accurate description of those officers as they were when they held mofussil appointments ; but since then many changes may have taken place, of which the High Court could have no other way of judging but the very insufficient one from the result of appeals. If such a test were universally applied, the marked superiority of the High Court itself would, perhaps, be not so very apparent. When we consider Mr. Stephen's description, given further on in his Minute, of the mode in which an appeal case is heard in the High Court, and the conclusion drawn therefrom, that “an appeal so decided is in reality no decision on the merits,” we may fairly question the value of any opinion so formed as to the capacity of the District Judges. In another place we find Mr. Stephen record it as his conclusion, that after a very limited period of residence in India, lengthened service by no means implies increased efficiency, and that a Sessions Judge is nothing more than “a

Magistrate grown rather older, while a High Court Judge stands in many cases in the same relation to a Sessions Judge." To the opinions, therefore, on which Sir H. S. Maine relies, we must decline to accord any infallibility; and while we see no reason to doubt that it fairly embodies the experiences of the several Judges of the High Court while they held the inferior office, we require more than their *ipse dixit* before receiving it as a correct description of present incumbents. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Mr. Stephen, quoting expressions from Mr. Justice L. Jackson, declares that "the concurrent and unceasing delivery of numerous unconsidered judgments must tend to the worst results, and accounts not only 'for a diminution of the prestige and authority of the Court,' but for any number of appeals." If the opinions of people in high office are to be taken as settling questions of this kind conclusively, the Judges should never forget that they have been themselves quite as unhesitatingly condemned, and that the entanglement of one of their number in the Statute of Frauds afforded Sir M. Wells material for a very confident though not very flattering description of the whole body.

It does not appear that the division of the Service into an executive and judicial branch is one of which Mr. Stephen approves. "It seems to me," he says, "that the first principle which must be borne in mind is that the maintenance of the position of the District officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India, and that any diminution in their influence and authority over the natives would be dearly* purchased even by an improvement in the administration of justice." And a few pages further on: "The exercise of criminal jurisdiction is both in theory and in fact the most distinctive and most easily and generally recognized mark of sovereign power. All the world over, the man who can punish is the ruler. Put this prerogative exclusively in the hands of a purely judicial officer who has no other relations at all to the people, and who passes his whole life in a court, and I can well believe that the result would be to break down in their minds the very notion of any sort of personal rule or authority on the part of the Magistrate. * * *

* * In a few words, the administration of criminal justice is the indispensable condition of all government and the means by which it is in the last resort carried on." From these several propositions, Mr. Stephen draws the conclusion that "it is necessary upon the whole that the District officer should both administer criminal justice and discharge miscellaneous executive functions." Although we are very far from according an unqualified assent to these propositions, it is no part of our

* The meaning is, "would be a dear price to pay for."

scheme to enter into a refutation of them. We shall content ourselves with remarking, that the influence of the District officer at present is much more owing, in our opinion, to his position as head of the police, and consequently power of the initiative in all criminal prosecutions, than to the exceptional exercise of judicial functions. Those who had experience of the state of things on the reorganisation of the police in 1862 in a district where the new Police Superintendent engaged in a contest for power with the Magistrate, will be able to support us in pointing to this as the real source of power in the eyes of the natives. Vigorous and able Magistrates were then completely put aside despite their retention of the fullest criminal judicial powers; and it was no uncommon thing to hear from the mouth of people who, a few weeks previously, used to cringe before him, that the Magistrate was no longer anybody, that the Police Superintendent had become the great man of the district. It was not until the other day when the Government of Bengal resolutely set itself to reduce Police Superintendents to a position of entire subordination to the Magistrates, that the District officers can be said to have recovered their former prestige. We are quite satisfied that the influence of the District officer would in no way be impaired if the decision of all the cases between man and man, which form the staple work of a judicial Magistrate, were absolutely and for ever taken away from him.

Instead, therefore, of a separation of judicial from executive functions, what Mr. Stephen advocates is a separation of criminal from civil jurisdiction. "If then," he writes, "this objection be put aside, it appears that, by erecting civil jurisdiction into a separate branch from criminal jurisdiction and general administration, we should effect the best division of labour of which circumstances will permit." Now, as this division of labour already exists, at least in the Regulation Provinces, we fail to see the exact significance of the proposal. Under the present organisation the only functionary (excluding the High Court) who combines in his own person civil and criminal jurisdiction is the District and Sessions Judge, and, as will appear hereafter, Mr. Stephen would not alter his powers in this respect. The civil jurisdiction of the District Judge is, we may say, mainly one of superintendence over the inferior courts, either directly or through the medium of appeals.* We find that in the year 1869, in the whole of Bengal, only 123 original civil suits were decided by those officers, which, allowing for the additional Judges, would give an average of four suits to each Judge. Statistics, therefore, prove that

* The following table of judicial year 1869, will be useful for reference:—

the entire original civil jurisdiction is in the hands of courts presided over by Native Judges, who have no other functions to perform; while of appeals, fully half are referred for decision to the Subordinate Native Judges. The District Judge then exercises civil jurisdiction merely in respect of the other half of the appeals and as a general overseer of the subordinate courts.

As might have been expected, the system of appeal which prevails in this country meets with anything but friendly treatment from Mr. Stephen. Although disposed to go a considerable way with him in the remarks he has made on this subject, we cannot help thinking that in his statement of the weak side of the system he has indulged in a good deal of sophistical special pleading, and not sufficiently remembered the peculiar circumstances under which the practice has taken rise in this country. It was not because English Judges were supposed to be more likely to form correct opinions on the Shasters and Koran, they were in the first instance appointed to supervise the country courts; but simply because it was believed they had a desire to do justice between the parties, which the native courts were known to have no desire to do. If in this respect the native courts have since improved, that improvement is in no slight degree to be ascribed to the ignorant, if you will, supervision of English Judges. That the time has come when this superintendence may be safely withdrawn, we are by no means convinced; and in stating the other side of the case Mr. Stephen would seem to recognise some danger. "The system of appeals," he writes, "does undoubtedly afford some sort of security against the indifference and carelessness into which Judges altogether unchecked by public opinion and by the criticism of the Bar could hardly fail to fall. The fear of having judgment reversed on appeal, or by a superior court in the exercise of the power of supervision, and the fear of reproofs which may accompany the reversal of the decision, are the sanctions by which Indian Judges are kept up to their work."

We cannot agree with him that the simple existence of a right of appeal "reduces the court of first instance to insignificance" or renders its judgment of "*no weight*." Doubtless if the appellate courts allow the right of appeal to be abused, and from a weak over-anxiety to do justice, imagine they are bound to open

CASES DISPOSED OF BY—

<i>High Court, Appellate.</i>		<i>Mofussil Civil Courts.</i>	
Regular appeals	... 281	District Judge, original	... 123
Special	... 3,461	Ditto, appeals	... 8,298
Miscellaneous	... 530	Subordinate Judges, original	2,980
		Ditto, appeals	... 8,999
		Moonsiffs, original	.. 129,184

up the whole question between the parties as if no trial had already been held and no decision come to, such results must ensue. But we can quite well conceive appellate courts taking a different stand and refusing to interfere with a finding once come to, except in the event of a palpable and indisputable failure of justice. Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state into which this wrong view of their functions has at present reduced the appellate courts throughout Bengal, we believe a little judicious advice from the High Court, preceded by a wholesome example on the part of the Judges of that court, would in a very short time work a marvellous reformation. Amputation is to be resorted to only as a last resource. Mr. Stephen speaks of double appeals, but we were not aware that any such are allowed by law. Mr. Macpherson in his Civil Procedure, page 357, says—"The law has not provided machinery for a third trial of the case upon the merits at large. But it has created under the head of special appeal a certain superintending authority which does not, like the jurisdiction on regular appeal, propose to itself the examination of the correctness or incorrectness of the conclusion which the court below has adopted as to the merits of the case ; but which exists for the purpose of maintaining uniformity in the law and in the decisions of the courts."

The antecedent hostility of Englishmen, and English lawyers in particular, to any system of appeal is, we cannot help thinking, one of those prejudices, which, resting on no philosophical basis, has sprung up simply from the past history of legal institutions in England itself. It would weary our readers if we were to attempt any detailed development of our idea, or trace the means by which it has come to pass that an appeal on the facts of a case is practically unknown in the British Isles. We may, however, briefly point out that in the earliest period the rights of individuals were decided not by technical or legally trained tribunals, but by the vote of their neighbours assembled in county courts. The whole organisation of the Anglo-Saxon period being one of counties, beyond a general subjection to the king and great council of the nation, each county was perfectly independent of any superior controlling authority. The Norman Conquest altered this state of things, and uniting the several counties together in a much more intimate manner, rendered all alike subordinate to a central authority. In this process the Norman courts, which had gradually developed themselves from the *aula regia*, played a most important part ; for although at first the subjects which came within their cognizance were almost exclusively those in which the king was interested, the Norman lawyers were not long in extending their jurisdiction by various fictions, and arrogating to themselves the right of deciding questions which had always

been held to belong to the county courts. We find numerous complaints of this aggression, but for all that it steadily proceeded till the county courts themselves disappeared, and the only trace of their existence left in English procedure was to be found in the expression of "putting oneself on the country," where an issue of fact had been joined for the trial of which a jury had to be empanelled. But though this right of having all questions of fact decided by twelve "honest men of the county" is the only ostensible remnant of those courts once so dear to the Anglo-Saxon freeholders, the spirit in which they worked has never been effaced from the retentive genius of the English people; and we have no doubt that it is to the original constitution and status of these courts, we are to ascribe the fact of no appeal having ever been thought necessary from the finding of a jury. However well juries may in general discharge their duties, we cannot regard the fact of no appeal lying from their verdicts as any sign of peculiar "confidence in those tribunals." In every suit that goes before them, one party at least is discontented with their finding, and would not hesitate to declare his want of confidence in that particular tribunal, whatever might be his views on the institution generally. It would be a great mistake to confound a general admiration for that peculiar mode of constituting a tribunal, with an approval of the proceedings of any one tribunal that had been so called into existence for the settlement of any particular dispute.

Practically every cause that comes to hearing has a special tribunal created for the decision of that matter and no other; it is only the mode, or law, under which the tribunals are to be created that remains constant. How it comes to pass that, though every case tried leaves one discontented party, this discontent has never mounted to such a head as to make itself heard, it would be hard to say. Perhaps it is an instance where the spirit of the nation is too powerful for the spirit of the individual, and prevents his ever thinking of a mode of redress that is out of harmony with the past history of the people and the genius of their institutions; or, perhaps, it is a mere application of the vulgar proverb that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander:" the finality of a jury's verdict is against me this time, it may be in my favour next. The point we wish to draw attention to here is that the absence of the right of appeal in England should not be taken as any proof of confidence in the tribunals of original jurisdiction; but that its explanation is to be looked for in the past legal history of the nation and the peculiarly conservative genius of the Saxon race, which leads them to tolerate longer than any known race even positive abuses. Students of Bentham will be slow to infer from the existence of a peculiar

procedure in England that it is either philosophical or even commonly beneficial. We may in a general way say, that where courts have sprung up among the people themselves, the right of appeal will be very limited; whereas on the other hand, where they have been established by a Sovereign who rules not merely as a representative of the people, appellate courts will be freely provided. A ruler despotic in power must, for his own security, provide appellate courts to supervise the inferior ones; amongst a free people the citizens themselves perform the work of supervision.

Such being admitted, we are in a better condition now to understand the feeling with which the people of this country regard the right of appeal. The Judges of the High Court are almost unanimous in stating that the right of appeal is popular. Mr. Justice Bayley says—"The fixed but mischievous idea in the native mind on the subject of appeal can hardly be understood by any one who has not been a Judge in the Zillah Court;" and he gives an answer made to him by a Muhammadan gentleman on the subject, that the fixed idea among the natives when they lose a case is "*appeal karne hoga*, that is, right or wrong, we must appeal." Mr. Justice L. Jackson writes—"If a *plébiscite* could be taken to-morrow on the retention of appeal, we should see a much larger affirmative majority than was lately returned by the French people on a different question." In fact, any one of *mofussil* experience will bear us out in saying that as trial by jury is to the typical Englishman the *palladium* of liberty, so the right of appeal is regarded by the Bengáli.

It is a wonderful sight then to see English judges and statesmen holding up this Bengáli *palladium* as a nuisance to be brushed aside as soon as possible. The fact that the people were themselves attached to the institution ought, one would imagine, to go a long way in moderating the zeal of the British Philistine, even though it may seem to him very far from being the best that could be devised; but strange to say, with that usual incapacity to sympathise with people of a different race, English lawyers and judges are as little driven out of their Utopian courses by it as a railway train would be by meeting a frog upon the line. Confident as we are of our vast superiority to people of other races, we determine to make them happy in spite of themselves. That which they do not ask for we insist on giving them, that which they ask for we sternly refuse. Municipalities, roads, statistics, and sanitary reform, which they detest, we force upon them; while the right of appeal, which they value, we persist in taking away. The former, in spite of the most decided opposition, we insist on taxing them to support; the latter we refuse them, though maintained at their own expense; for we can-

not pretend to say that an abuse of appeal hurts any but the litigating parties.

Now, what is the great objection to a system of appeal? It throws heavy expenses on the parties? As long as they do not object, wherein is the harm? Putting the matter in the broadest light, it merely transfers the wealth of landholders and others to a class of men called vakils. It acts as a kind of safety valve for the permanent settlement. The money is much better in their hands than in those of its former owners. By such a process of transfer a body of educated intelligent men, who have a certain feeling of independence, the result of making their own fortune, is maintained, without any expense to the general revenues, but by the voluntary contributions of the landholders. Any other Government but an English one would gladly seize the opportunity thus afforded by the people themselves of educating them in the most effectual manner. In some countries the ideal of education is afforded by the army; the whole population, or such a large proportion as to affect the tone of the whole, is regularly passed through the army. After the French Revolution of 1789, the army was the only means left through which the people of France could pass from a state of chaotic anarchy to order. Why should not the legal profession furnish the ideal of education for Bengal? It is not the ideal an Englishman would choose; but then it is, perhaps, the only ideal possible. In this point alone has the mind of England come into living contact with the mind of Bengal. Legal thought has taken root, and the notions of legal right that we have created throughout every village in the mofussil would survive long after we had disappeared from India. It is by seizing on the points of living contact alone that one nation can modify another. The great advantage that this court practice possesses as a means of education is its eminently practical character. The knowledge acquired is made to penetrate the mind of the recipient, instead of remaining a foreign undigested substance on his memory. No mere capacity of repeating what has been told by the teacher or read in English books will be of use in this profession; the vakil must have so assimilated the result of his studies that his own mind shall have been modified thereby. From having constantly to apply principles which he has learned theoretically, to actual facts as they arise, and to turn in on his own intellect for arguments, the vakil acquires a habit of self-reliance, a confidence in his own powers and a capacity of recognising the connection between reasons and beliefs. Now in all this the forms of thought in which his mind works are essentially European: the moulding laws in obedience to which his whole mental life is carried on are Western as opposed to Oriental. When we consider all that is implied in this, we shall perhaps

be prepared to admit that the most powerful means available by which to civilise the people of this country is to be found in encouraging in every way the legal profession.

We must not be misunderstood when we draw attention to those general considerations and collateral advantages, as though we deemed them the only, or even the main elements, which should decide the question. A system of appeal where introduced will rest itself on narrower and more direct consequences, though it would be very unfashionable at the present day to allude to them. But we have not now to introduce such a system for the first time. For better or for worse it already exists, and we regard the indirect effects that flow from it quite as deserving of weight in any reconsideration of the system as the antecedent prejudices with which English barristers invariably approach the subject.

We come now to some of the specific objections to the present system which have been urged by no less authorities than Judges of the High Court. Evidently their remarks have had considerable weight with Mr. Stephen, and he quotes freely from them. The point which the Judges particularly insist on is the inefficiency of the "special appeal." The question, it will be remembered, was raised by Sir B. Peacock some few years ago, when he found the court deluged with such cases where the amount at stake was trifling. At that time Sir B. Peacock attempted to calculate the expense to Government of each special appeal, and proposed, as a cheaper remedy, to pay the parties the full amount in dispute. Such a mode of looking at the matter appears to us singularly fallacious. If a similar calculation was made of the cost to Government of every conviction for petty theft, we doubt not it would be found much cheaper to pay the complainant to withdraw his case. To say nothing of the fact that the amount for which a special appeal is preferred affords no safe indication of the actual value of the dispute to the litigants, the indirect effects of each appeal decided are altogether incapable of being expressed in a money value. The pressure of work on the High Court which then attracted attention to the subject would, from Mr. Justice Loch's remarks, appear to have been owing to the misuse of the privilege and not in any way essential to the right of appeal itself. He writes: "The court is inundated with special appeals, and of these it may be safely said three-fourths are rejected, because there is no sufficient ground for admitting an appeal on any point of law." If such be the case, we can in this see no good ground either for abolishing the right of special appeal as Sir B. Peacock and others advise, or raising the minimum as Justices Loch, Hobhouse, and others propose. The remedy for such a state of things would appear a very simple one. At present no special appeal can be preferred without a vakil of the High

Court certifying that there are good grounds in point of law for such ; but from want of attention on the part of the Judges, the certificate must have become a mere matter of form. If the High Court insisted on the vakils doing their duty and exercising an intelligent discrimination in the cases they certified, a very remarkable improvement would take place. A vakil who certifies a thoroughly bad case does so either from ignorance or carelessness : in either event he deserves punishment, and might very justly be suspended from the exercise of his functions for a limited period.

When we come to Sir C. P. Hobhouse's remarks, we find special appeals attacked on somewhat different grounds ; the great cost to the parties is dwelt on. But there is no law that compels any one to prefer a special appeal ; the losing party may always, if he dreads the expense, sit still and be in no worse position than if there were no special appeal. If on the other hand a poor man finds himself unwillingly, after having succeeded in the lower courts, made a respondent in such a case, where the law was on his side, there *ought* to be no necessity for him to fee counsel to inform the Judges who try the special appeal that it is so. Judges of the High Court *ought* to be able "to hold their own" against even the *ex parte* arguments of an appellant's pleader and to disentangle his sophistical misapplications of the law, without the help of a second pleader. For every case the appellant quotes as an authority on his side, the Judges *ought* to be able to point out equally good cases, if there be such, on the other. Such is very far from being the case, we know, and it is in this way alone that a hardship is inflicted by the right of special appeal ; for it is the only way in which an unwilling party may be forced into expense. Could the successful litigant of the lower courts feel sure that the law would be equally correctly applied without his employing a pleader to support the decision already given, he might sit quietly at home and disregard the attacks of his adversary. Another of Sir C. P. Hobhouse's objections is, we think, equally unhappy. He objects in fact to special appeals, because they are not regular ones ; because the High Court cannot go into the facts as well as the law, and, strange to say, Mr. Justice Phear urges the same as an objection. To our minds the objection appears altogether futile. We can perfectly understand the expediency, in order to secure uniformity in the law, of appointing one central tribunal to declare what it is in the last resort ; and at the same time of refusing to burden that court with the duty of considering facts already settled by an inferior tribunal. Special appeals are provided, not so much in the interests of the litigants to a particular suit, as in that of the judicial administration generally throughout the country.

To support his peculiar views, Sir C. P. Hobhouse has drawn a

picture of a subordinate native court and of one presided over by a District Judge, in which he has reversed the fable of the lion and the painter. While the former is described as a perfect haven of capacity and legal attainments, the latter is the abode of ignorance and presumption. As, however, bearing on the question of sanctioning or abolishing the right of appeal, the picture is worthless. If the subordinate courts be such as Sir C. P. Hobhouse in his poetic fancy has described them, we have no doubt the appellate court would invariably agree with their finding. It is always much easier to say "I concur," than to hunt for reasons to uphold you in differing, and there is no obligation on a District Judge, before whom an appeal is preferred from one of these pattern Moonsiffs, to interfere with his decision. Before Sir C. P. Hobhouse's inference is justified, it must be shown that the law compels an appellate court to differ from the original one. If the High Court are really of opinion that the Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameens throughout the mofussil are such as Sir C. P. Hobhouse and Mr. Bayley depict, they should immediately issue a circular to all District Judges to warn them to be very careful how they reverse their findings of facts.

Justices L. Jackson and Phear, however, give a very different description of these courts which have so charmed the imagination of Sir C. P. Hobhouse. Mr. Jackson writes: "A certain proportion of the Moonsiffs everywhere must be officers of little experience, and with them inexperience is not merely the novelty of the judicial function, but entire unfamiliarity with business; for our Moonsiffs are commonly appointed fresh from college, and are consequently as new to the affairs of life as they are to office. Thus prepared for the Bench (now-a-days, I believe, with a good deal of undigested law in their heads), they are often planted in a small mofussil village, with no greater potentate at hand than the Police Inspector; no public opinion; no superior within visiting distance; surrounded by obsequious amlah and ignorant pleaders." Mr. Justice Phear, pointing out that the courts of first instance (*i.e.*, the courts of Moonsiffs and other Native Judges, as statistics show) are not fit to take evidence, says—"They are unskilled in the art of trying suits. Most of the Judges of those courts have a very competent knowledge of law, but few, if any, know how to make the testimony of witnesses take such a shape as will serve to exhibit its intrinsic value. I might say that in 99 cases out of 100 imperfect examination and entire absence of cross-examination leave the case so bald of trustworthy material and so denuded of all circumstances that it is absolutely impossible for a court to found a satisfactory decision upon it, unless with such aid as is deducible from the behaviour of the parties themselves and the witnesses at the trial. But, unfortunately it is still too much the custom for the parties to the suit to keep away from

the court altogether, and generally it would be an abuse of terms to say that any one conducts the case on their behalf. The persons who act as advocates in the mofussil courts have as yet very little knowledge of the business of conducting a trial. Indeed, scarcely any of the courts themselves manifest a sense of the great importance of method in a judicial investigation, and by the practice of taking the examination of one or two witnesses on one day, as many more on another after a considerable interval of time" (how far is the High Court's view of the law on postponing cases for the attendance of witnesses who have failed to attend on the first day responsible for this practice?) "and so on, they deprive themselves in a large measure of the special advantages which attach to a properly conducted trial by oral testimony."

We cannot help thinking that there is a good deal of exaggeration about the legal acquirements and capacity of this Moonsiff of the period. Supposing the training vouched for by a Calcutta degree of B.L. or L.L. to be all that could be desired, yet the proportion of Moonsiffs that hold such degrees is altogether insignificant. We are quite alive to the probability that it will largely increase, and that before many years the vast majority of Native Judges will be compelled, before appointment, to produce some such certificate of fitness; but when we find the necessity of reform insisted on not from a purely theoretical point of view, but on the basis of actual experience, it would be as well to see what that experience has been in fact. Now, on the 1st January 1869, later than which Mr. Stephen's authorities cannot well date, the number of Moonsiffs who held any legal degree from the Calcutta University was twenty-three. The total number of Moonsiffs in the Lower Provinces, according to Mr. Stephen's table, was one hundred and eighty-four. Of the twenty-three, nineteen had received their appointments subsequent to January 1865; while the Calcutta University Calendar shows that of these, seventeen had been appointed Moonsiffs within two years (eleven within one year) of their obtaining degrees, so that they could have had no practical experience of legal proceedings when first promoted to the Bench. It is not unfair to assume that three-fourths were equally inexperienced in the ordinary affairs of the outside world. The majority must have been simply book-read striplings, capable, no doubt, of becoming useful public servants, but not exactly at that stage of their career, the class we should expect to work any very radical reform in an old-established system. We must decline, therefore, *in limine*, to credit the facts which Mr. Stephen's authorities assert of the great revolution that had been effected in the relation of District Judges to their subordinate courts. It would require a much longer period for even a vastly

larger proportion of much more highly qualified persons to change the character of an established judicial system.

But, when we consider what is the exact significance of a legal degree from the Calcutta University and compare the course of study required to attain it with that which civilians under the competition system are subjected to, we see no reason whatever to apprehend that the civilian will have the slightest difficulty in maintaining his superiority to the inferior courts when called to the office of District Judge. It was our idea that one of the first principles of English legal opinion was the worthlessness of mere book study of the law, and the assertion has been repeated *ad nauseam*, that except in the chambers of a practising barrister, or in actual practice as an advocate, no man can qualify himself in the legal profession. Mr. Stephen, indeed, all through this minute quietly assumes that there can be no such thing as true legal training except by practice as an advocate. We are therefore surprised to find him echoing the phrases of some High Court Judges about the regular legal training of the Subordinate Judges, as contra-distinguished from that which may be possessed by future Civilian Judges. We say *future* Civilian Judges because, of course, before any reform takes place, the remnants of the Civilians of the old school must be provided for without any very particular scrutiny into their qualifications, and whatever reforms may be decided on can never be intended to operate to their disadvantage. All such are meant to take effect on competition officials, whose claim to any appointment rests on their own merits alone. It is one of the greatest advantages of the competition system, and one not sufficiently noticed, this facility which it offers to reform. Under the old system the whole service was so intimately bound together that the senior members who constituted the advisers of Government could seldom carry out an improvement, or remedy an abuse, without trenching on the privileges or perquisites of nephews, sons, or sons-in-law, in whom they were nearly interested. This obstacle from self-interest has been removed by competition. No longer tied by personal connections to the junior members of the service, the seniors are able to discern with admirable clearness the defects and abuses that prevail in the various grades of appointments that are on the point of being filled up by competition men. Witness the ease with which, owing to this cause, the Financial Secretary, when threatened with a deficit, was, a couple of years ago, enabled to reduce acting allowances from 30 per cent. to 20 per cent., although only a few months before the rate had been settled by solemn compact. Under the old *régime* he would have been stopped by prejudices against what would have been styled a breach of faith. One is thus reminded of an army in retreat, which,

as soon as its own rear-guard has passed through, will burn without compunction a village, which it had spared as long as any benefit to its own troops could be secured thereby.

To return from this digression. We would point out that the civilians appointed under the present system have quite as good a claim, on their first arrival in this country, to the title of a regular legal training as any B.L. turned out by the Calcutta University. We have no doubt that they could with very little trouble (though the books they have studied may in some respects differ), if it were so ordered, pass immediately on landing the examination prescribed by the University for that magic distinction. The course of legal reading they have already gone through is, we believe, quite as extensive; and from early associations and previous education it must find with them a far better and more likely soil for further development than with any native of this country. It is grossly unfair, therefore, to represent, as is now so commonly done, the education of the Calcutta University as conferring upon the Bengáli student a peculiar fitness for the judicial office and to deny or ignore the effects of a similar training on the English student.

While we are quite ready to allow the natural turn of the Bengáli mind for legal pursuits, we would suggest, as the result of our experience, that the degree in which it is suited to the work of the Bench is in no way proportionate to its capacity for the Bar. As an advocate the Bengáli vakil can pursue an argument with great subtlety and skill and bring forward every point that makes for his client, but he appears to be deficient in comprehensiveness and robustness of intellect, qualities so essential to a good judge to preserve him from being led astray by a specious difference, or rising at a gaudy sophism. Looking at the judgments of the most distinguished native judges, we fail to see any real balancing of the two sides of the case before them; the whole judgment has the air of a piece of special pleading for a foregone conclusion.

But quite beside this consideration of the relative qualifications which Moonsiffs and embryo District Judges possess on their first nomination to Government service, Mr. Stephen assumes as an indisputable fact that the only proper preparation for the Bench is to be found in actual practice at the Bar. We hope we shall not be accused of incorrigible obtuseness if we confess, that not being an English barrister, to us the self-evidence of the proposition is by no means clear. To look at the matter from a philosophical point of view, the requisites of a successful advocate appear to differ widely from those of an efficient Judge. Nine out of ten English barristers are advocates and nothing more who, as cases come before them, hunt up legal points in the

numerous Indexes that the industry of their predecessors has compiled. True, the matter and arguments with which they are conversant are more or less of a legal character, but the rough and ready cramming up of particular precedents to suit the case in hand is very far from sufficient to constitute a lawyer. In former times there was a proverb that "a man who was not a lawyer when called to the Bar was never a lawyer afterwards." There is no reason why a man of ordinary education, who has acquired an elementary acquaintance with a few legal books, knows where to look for precedents, and has a natural capacity for "making the worse appear the better reason" should not, after he has become familiar with the rules of practice of the court, make a very successful practitioner at the Bar. Mr. Stephen in his sneers at the Law Reports speaks of them as magazines of precedents which vakils hunt blindly for material with which to pelt one another. Is this procedure so very unlike what prevails in the courts of England? The fact is, three-fourths of an English barrister's work comes to him in his character of advocate (the only advocate allowed to address a court), rather than in that of lawyer. Now the first essential of an advocate is an ability for throwing himself thoroughly in on one side of a case; of seeing nothing but what makes in his own favour, and bringing forward every point in the most advantageous manner. He must, of course, be also capable of parrying the points made by an adversary; but quickness of invention and ingenuity are the great requisites for this. No doubt he has to exercise some judgment in determining the mode in which he will conduct his case and manœuvre his witnesses, but from first to last thorough one-sidedness is the essential. True it is that from exercising this one-sidedness, now to prove that A is white and to-morrow that A is black, his mind is saved from a permanent warp in any particular direction. But how different is the sort of equilibrium thus attained from the comprehensive weighing of both sides of a question and coming to a decision on large and general principles which are required from an efficient Judge? Looking at the matter *a priori*, we should expect that whatever knowledge of law is essential to a Judge, it should be acquired by systematic study and not by scraps from Indexes, and consist in general and comprehensive principles that would enable him to decide in a rational and intelligent manner between the conflicting precedents which might be adduced before him.

It is idle to tell us that English Judges have always been taken from the Bar and that they are the best Judges in Europe. Supposing it to be true, for all we know they might have been chosen in twenty other ways and still remained the best Judges in Europe. Many other elements besides selection from the Bar go to make English Judges what they are. Further on, when discussing the

expediency of opening mofussil Judgeships to the Calcutta Bar and vakils, Mr. Stephen speaks of thereby admitting them to the legitimate "prizes of their profession." Such a mode of speaking is invidious. Where from long practice, as in England, the Bar has got the monopoly of the Bench, it may be considered a legitimate prize of the profession; where such a practice never has prevailed, the Bench is no more a legitimate prize of the barristers than it is of the attorneys. The legitimate prizes of the profession are the fees and remunerations which its members earn at the Calcutta Bar, and what a legal abortion he must be to whom a District Judgeship could be offered as prize. Judges are officers of Government, and it is perfectly open to the Government to determine that, instead of going into the market to fill vacancies as they occur, it will rear its own Judges. In a country like India where you must create your Bar before you select from it, such a mode of proceeding has obvious advantages. Granting that on his appointment the young Judge is as awkward with his first case as the young barrister with his first brief, we fail to see how he is placed in a worse position for improvement than the barrister. His attention is not confined to one side of the subject, for before decision he must make himself familiar with the arguments of both parties, and finish up by an independent research of his own. He becomes for the time the vessel into which the whole knowledge and erudition of both pleaders that bears on the subject in hand is poured. The habit of considering every question not merely in the interests of one party or the other, but with a sincere desire to discover the truth, must have a powerful educating influence on the mind. But in one respect he has a vast advantage over any barrister, inasmuch as he is always sure of practice. Where a barrister never handles a brief, he certainly can lay no claim to that "regular legal training" which is only to be had from practice; and where a man does not please the attorneys, it would be quite possible for him to spend five years at the Bar—the mystic period which is supposed to qualify for any appointment—without having actually conducted twenty cases. Now, if the same man had spent the five years as a petty Judge, he would at the least have had to try some two thousand cases. Granting even that from inexperience at the first he blundered most egregiously, we cannot doubt that at the end of the five years on the Bench he would have much better fitted himself to give satisfaction as a judicial officer, than by five years' newspaper reading in the Bar Library with the twenty cases sprinkled over it as seasoning. It is difficult, therefore, to understand why a training of fifteen years derived from the actual discharge of judicial functions should be considered so absolutely worthless. To be an engine-builder it is not necessary for a man to serve his time to a blacksmith. Though

busied with the same materials, the work of the former is different in character from that of the latter. When English barristers advance such pretensions, they forget that some of the most able and renowned Judges of Europe whose fame is far more widely spread than that of any English Judge sat upon the Bench without ever having practised at the Bar.

We would not for a moment be supposed to underrate the expertness in ordinary legal practice which may be acquired by a barrister who is kept supplied with work ; and where, as in England, the area of selection is very large in proportion to the appointments available, and the opinion of the Bar so powerful that a Government dare not appoint incompetent men to the Bench, we are quite ready to admit that the system of selection from the Bar has worked well. But on the other hand, it is not improbable that its success is in some degree owing to the very peculiar position of English Judges. Sitting serenely by to arbitrate between two legal practitioners who are thoroughly made up in the law and subject of the case and handing over all questions of fact and credibility of witnesses to a jury for decision is one thing ; but to be attorney, counsel, judge, and jury all rolled into one is a totally different. And when we hear barristers condemn so freely the shortcomings of *mofussil* courts, we sometimes indulge a wicked wish to see how they would themselves manage such work. The experiment might be made. In the next case called on in the High Court on the original side, the counsel for the plaintiff might simply say in opening—"My Lord, you will ascertain for yourself the facts from the witnesses my client will name, and I doubt not will correctly apply the law." To which the defendant's counsel might reply—"My Lord, the claim is false, the plaintiff a knave as your lordship will soon find from the witnesses my client will produce." A few months of such a mode of conducting cases would enable the Barrister Judges to understand a good deal better the nature of the reforms that are required in *mofussil* courts.

After a long discussion of the defects in judicial administration which in his opinion at present prevail, Mr. Stephen propounds, as was to be expected, his scheme for their remedy. "I would constitute," he writes, "in each division a civil and criminal court, of which the Civil and Sessions Judge should be President, and all the full-power Magistrates and Subordinate Judges *ex officio* members * * * * * The Commissioner of the division should exercise executive authority over these courts and in particular should convene them from time to time to dispose of business. Each court should consist of three members—the Judge and two full-power Magistrates for criminal cases—the Judge and two Subordinate Judges or other civil members for civil cases."

* * * * * The jurisdiction of the courts should be as follows :—

1—CIVIL COURTS.

“*Appellate Jurisdiction.*—From all inferior Courts from which an appeal lies in all cases which such courts are competent to entertain. The decision of the Court to be final, but they should have power in their discretion to state cases for the High Court.”

The effect of this would be to give the newly constituted court the jurisdiction which is at present exercised by the District Judge in all appeals under Rs. 5,000, and that of the High Court in regular appeals above that sum from the District Judge and all courts subordinate to him. The only guarantee for uniformity in the law administered by the various mofussil courts lies at present in the right of special appeal. This Mr. Stephen takes away, substituting in its place a permission to his division courts to state cases for the High Court. But suppose the Division Court strong in its own view declines to exercise this discretion, we may in a very short time find each Division enjoying its own peculiar interpretation of the law, in diametrical opposition to that of the neighbouring Division. When, moreover, all appeals to the High Court except those from the original side of the new Division Courts have been abolished, we can see nothing left for the High Court to do and its further existence becomes unnecessary.* In declaring the finding of this Division Court final, Mr. Stephen would seem to imagine he is introducing some new principle; but as has been already pointed out, at the present moment it is only on the ground of error in law that the decision of a District Judge on appeal can be impeached. Mr. Stephen's change then merely amounts to the abolition of special appeals and the referring regular appeals above Rs. 5,000 in value to the Division Court instead of to the High Court.

As a court of *original jurisdiction* the powers he confers would be identical with those of the present District Judge, an appeal lying in cases over half a lakh in value to the Privy Council instead of to the High Court. On the criminal side this new Court would have powers identical with those of the Court of Session, except that, where exercising original jurisdiction, its decision would be final. Nothing is said of sentences of death, and here again we find the work of the High Court taken away. On the other hand Mr. Stephen would enlarge the civil original jurisdiction of the High Court by allowing it to try certain cases on application from the parties. Such then is the latest novelty in judicial reform for India. To sum it up briefly, it simply amounts to abolishing special appeals and putting a District Judge

* *Vide Judicial Statistics in note supra.*

with two Subordinate Native Judges, or two Magistrates, as the case may be, to do the work which is at present performed by a District and Sessions Judge alone, giving, however, a finality to their decisions when sitting as an original criminal court. Such a conclusion to a minute of over a hundred closely printed pages reminds one of the half-penny worth of bread to the two gallons of sack.

Although not distinctly expressed in as many words, we understand it to be Mr. Stephen's scheme to supersede the existing thirty District and Additional Judges of Bengal by his eight Division Courts. Seeing that the civil judicial work of these officers is with the exception of four original cases per annum to each Judge purely appellate, and that the new courts would be the sole courts of appeal, this is the only intelligible meaning to be got from the minute. It is true Mr. Stephen says that he would not meddle with civil courts of first instance, and in strict law the District Judge's Court is one of these ; but, as we have shown already by figures from the judicial statistics of the province, it is so only in theory. If it were otherwise, District Judges could be furnished with work only at the expense of the Subordinate Judges and Moonsiffs. That such a change would be a great improvement on the present system we doubt not, but it does not appear to have been intended by Mr. Stephen. Whether it was or was not, is immaterial to the following remarks. If it were a fact that a court presided over by three Judges could do three times the amount of work that a court presided over by a single Judge can get through, there might be some plausibility in suggesting such an arrangement in divisions such as Bhagulpore and Chittagong consisting each of only three districts, but it must be obvious, on the slightest reflection, that a single Division Court would be altogether inadequate to meet the wants of divisions such as Burdwan and Berhampore. But we have yet to learn that three Judges can despatch business more expeditiously than a single Judge, unless, indeed, they adopt the plan for which there are said to be high precedents, of each Judge taking up a separate record and accommodating each other in turns with a mutual concurrence ; in every appeal two of the Judges knowing nothing whatever of the case in the decision of which they are so unanimous. Quite the contrary ; it would be nearer the truth to say that exactly as you increase the number of Judges in a court, you diminish the number of cases that can be disposed of in a given time. Supposing each of the Subordinate Judges who sits with the District Judge to compose this Division Court is a trustworthy conscientious man who forms his own opinion, instead of a mere *jô hukum* assessor, we do not believe that a court so constituted could dispose of more than one-third of the cases which are at present decided in the year by the District Judge. Mr. Stephen must

fancy that District Judges are for the most part idle, or he could never have made such a proposal as to improve the administration of justice in this way.

During the year 1869, the total number of civil appeals from the District Judges and courts subordinate to them disposed of were 17,578, all which would, under the proposed scheme, fall to the lot of the eight Division Courts. What prospect could there be of those eight courts overtaking such an amount of work? Even working as expeditiously as a single Judge, the utmost they could get through in the year would be under five thousand cases. When we add on the criminal cases that would come before them as courts of sessions and criminal appeal, it gives one a shock to think of the state to which one year of their existence would reduce the administration of justice throughout the country. To take only one division as an illustration, we assert without fear of contradiction that if such a court were established to-morrow in the Presidency division in lieu of the various courts of appeal that have at present jurisdiction therein, the arrears that would have accumulated before the end of the first month would be sufficient to occupy it unceasingly for the following ten.

It might seem a quite sufficient condemnation of any new scheme of Courts to point out that they could not dispose of one-tenth part of the cases that would come before them for decision; but there are other aspects also in which Mr. Stephen's suggestion appears hasty and ill-conceived. He has assumed that the presence with him on the Bench of two Subordinate Native Judges would strengthen the hands of the District Judge and entitle the decision of the court to more weight than that of a single judge. The experience that has already been acquired in criminal trials with assessors leads to a different conclusion. We have never heard that in the eyes of the public, of the parties to the prosecution or of the vakeels who practise in the court, the decision of a Sessions Judge agreeing with assessors was received with any greater respect than that of the Sessions Judge alone. It may of course be said that the Subordinate Native Judge will be a better educated and more intelligent person than assessors generally are; but then it should also be remembered he is a paid servant of Government immediately subordinate to the District Judge. His prospects can be materially affected by the opinion which even an inefficient and prejudiced Judge may express of him. Whatever superiority of intelligence and capacity he may possess over the unpaid assessor is more than counterbalanced by the relation of dependence in which he stands to the presiding Judge. To expect that men so circumstanced would venture to differ from the presiding Judge is to expect what, except in rare instances, we shall

not see in Bengal. Coadjutors such as these would be no real strength to any Judge; they would be mere civil assessors to a Judge on whose good opinion their daily bread depended, and a court so constituted would express merely the opinion of the presiding Judge. It is not for a moment to be believed that its decisions would carry any more respect than those of the Judge sitting alone. Such assessors in only one case can we conceive to be of any use, and that is to prop up some youthful barrister who having failed to make a position for himself at the Calcutta Bar, absolute want at last rendered willing to accept at the solicitation of friends in high places a mofussil Judgeship. Such a man, we admit, in complete ignorance of the language and customs of the people to whom he had to dispense justice, would have a better chance of concealing his incapacity with two such coadjutors than if he had to decide alone as District and Sessions Judge. In this one respect then as facilitating what Mr. Stephen euphemistically calls the improvement of the Mofussil Bench by the promotion to it of regularly trained barristers, but which others call by a shorter name, a court so constituted would be of advantage. The point which has been most insisted on and which Mr. Justice Phear particularly brings forward, is that the radical weakness of our present system lies in the courts of original jurisdiction, that is, the Native Moonsiffs' courts. Mr. Stephen has himself summed up the opinions of the Judges of the High Court in these words: "The fault of the system, as described by them, is in a word that it aims at curing a rotten foundation by an intricate and expensive superstructure." It would have been natural to expect that one who undertook to reform such a system would see the necessity of directing his attention to the foundation instead of peddling at the superstructure. Mr. Stephen leaves the foundation exactly as he found it; he pulls out half a dozen beams from the superstructure, takes the edges off one of them, shoves it back again in place of the six, and declares the whole building henceforward safe.

It will be remembered that this Minute commenced with a discussion of the advisability of dividing the Civil Service into a judicial and executive branch. The advocates of the division urged the necessity of affording future judicial officers an early opportunity of familiarizing themselves with such work and, in fact, acquiring the preliminary training, the absence of which is at present said to be the great weakness of Civilian Judges. In Mr. Stephen's reconstitution of the courts, we fail to see any provision for such training. There is no guarantee that the presiding Judge of his Division Court will be at all better qualified for the post than the present District Judge. He would seem to have given up the task of improving Civilian

Judges and to trust entirely to his supplementary proposal for allowing a selected number of civilians to practise at the Bar.

This proposal of appointing members of the Civil Service as Government advocates with the right of private practice would doubtless be very acceptable to some men who have a taste for legal pursuits, but how far it would succeed in providing recruits for the Mofussil Bench is another question. We venture to think that few men, who were at all successful in practice, would give up the excitement of forensic strife with the very substantial remuneration attached thereto for the monotonous grind of a District Judgeship. In the former capacity, as merely advocate, the civilian would be assured of, or at least have the means of compelling, a courtesy of treatment from the High Court which, as District Judge, he could not expect. The proposal is, moreover, based on the peculiar English fallacy that the only proper preparation for the Bench is to be found in practice as an advocate.

Mr. Stephen declines to discuss the effect which throwing open all judgeships to barristers and vakils, would have on the members of the Covenanted Civil Service; and thinks it quite sufficient to suggest such a measure, assuming that its own inherent merits will at once make themselves apparent to every one. For ourselves we must confess that the superiority of a barrister to a civilian is by no means so self-evident. Two-thirds of a mofussil Judge's difficulties are in the correct estimate of questions of fact, and insight into the credibility of witnesses. In another part of his Minute Mr. Stephen recognizes that for the efficient discharge of his duties the Judge must possess a knowledge of the customs, habits of thought, and language of the people. "I fully agree," he writes, "in short with the opinion expressed in many of the papers that the experience of the people, their ways, their character, and their language, which a district officer gains by his constant intercourse with them, is analogous to the experience which an English barrister gains of men and things by practice at the Bar before he is raised to the Bench, and that it would be as unwise and as injurious to judicial efficiency to make district officers into Judges before they had acquired that experience, as to make English barristers Judges before they had practised a competent time at the Bar." What opportunity a barrister practising in the Calcutta High Court has of acquiring this experience is nowhere shown. Mr. Stephen would seem to imagine that it comes naturally to any one who sets foot on the soil of India and breathes its fetid air. But the laws and customs under which natives of Calcutta live, and which are administered on the original side of the High Court, differ widely from those of the mofussil; and to the very last English barristers with the rarest exception, remain totally ignorant of the latter.

But, even if the case were otherwise, and a residence in Calcutta with practice at the original side of the High Court afforded as good opportunities for becoming familiar with the habits and language of the people as a mofussil civilian at present enjoys, what barrister of 15 years' standing — the average period of a civilian's service before he attains a Judgeship—would accept a District Judgeship? None but such as were helplessly, hopelessly incompetent. We may go much lower, and we are quite confident that no barrister of five years' standing at the Calcutta Bar who was at all successful, would barter his future prospects for such a poor equivalent. To adopt Mr. Stephen's own words applied to a different case, "a man who at that age is not succeeding may be said in most cases to have failed." In opening then District Judgeships to members of the Bar it is no competition with men of equal standing or capacity that Civilian Judges have to fear. The full-fledged birds will not deign to scramble for the crumbs that furnish the Civil Servants' meal; it is the downy legal goslings, too soft and foolish to procure abroad their own supplies, kind friends wish to provide for thus. Somewhat similar objections apply to the appointment of vakils, but of course in a much less degree, in so far as the position of District Judge would be to them an incredible rise in the social scale, but there is no space to go into this question. There is one, however, peculiar to them which Mr. Stephen has altogether overlooked. At present vakils are confined to the appellate side of the High Court: the consequence is, a man may attain the highest point of his profession without having ever seen an original case tried. His position as a vakil affords no guarantee that he ever has. Whatever may be said, therefore, of the knowledge of practice and legal training a practising barrister can acquire by attending trials on the original side of the court, there cannot be the slightest pretence for assuming that a vakil, whose sole business up to that has consisted in worrying a record and trying to twist its contents into a form most favourable to his client, will have any knowledge whatever as to the proper course of procedure. How, therefore, the promotion of such men to Judgeships will effect an improvement in the state of things described by Mr. Justice Phear, remains a mystery.

But while we have thus merely hinted at a few of the most patent objections to Mr. Stephen's scheme even as he has himself stated it, we must insist that the proposal is one which never can be properly considered apart from its effect on the Covenanted Civil Service and the Uncovenanted Judicial Service. These services have been constituted on a distinct and definite principle, namely, that the higher offices shall be filled by men who have passed successfully through the lower. It was open to the Government to have adopted a different principle and to go into the open market

for candidates as each office fell vacant. Instead of recruiting the Bench from the advocates who practise in the courts, it determined to adopt the system that prevails in most civilised countries, as was perfectly lawful for it to do. If that system has proved a failure, let the whole matter be reconsidered by competent authority and the two services abolished, due regard being shown to the rights and expectations of all present incumbents. But let us have no such attempts to graft upon it an altogether incompatible system. While maintaining the Civil Service in name, by filching away the appointments that give it a value you destroy it in reality. With some hundred members below the grade of Joint-Magistrate, the appointment of even a single outsider to a District Judgeship would be no slight loss, and the injury thus done to the general administration by the discontent and dissatisfaction it would excite, would more than counterbalance the advantage gained by the appointment of even a superior man.

When advocating the demolition of restrictions that have been deliberately adopted for good reasons to confine within particular limits the area of selection for superior appointments, would-be reformers invariably urge the expediency of securing the best man for the post ; as if, at any moment, it was the simplest thing in the world to say among some thirty or forty candidates who is the best man. They would wish us to forget that in nine cases out of ten, even supposing he could know it, the authority entrusted with the appointment has no desire to appoint the best man. Persons in high office have a way of interpreting "best man" to mean the man in whom they are most nearly interested. It is seldom, however, a reformer himself furnishes us with such a distinct explanation of his meaning as Mr. Stephen has done. During the brief *interregnum* on Lord Mayo's assassination, when his influence in the Governor-General's Council was paramount, it is well known what were the qualifications that he held to mark out the fittest man for the Advocate-Generalship of Bengal. It is drawing too deeply on our trust in human nature to expect us to believe that successors would be more scrupulous in the obscurity of mofussil districts than our able and disinterested reformer was in Calcutta itself, under the full blaze of criticism from both Press and Bar. Mr. Stephen has deliberately declared that the maintenance of the district officer is essential to our hold of the country ; how long will it be possible to procure district officers such as he requires if the reward to which they have been taught to look forward is dragged from their mouths by the latest innovation from England ? Whether the maintenance of the Covenanted Civil Service be or be not essential to the good government of the country, satisfied we are that to maintain it in name and at the same time alter it in character and status by removing, bit

by bit, all that made it valuable, is mischievous in the extreme. Much better do away with it at once. To our own knowledge the uneasiness and disgust caused by Sir C. Wood's Bill in 1861, and the tone in which the position of the Civil Service was then discussed, caused several young men, who were reading in different Universities for the competitive examinations with a good prospect of success, once for all to give up the idea of an Indian career. Few competition men, we fancy, with ten years' experience of the country and the treatment to be expected here, would (except in the case of natural incapacity or downright poverty) allow a son or near friend to think of the Indian Civil Service as a profession. It is one of those one-sided compacts where he must engage for everything—life, time, talents—and nothing is guaranteed to him, all appointments being at the best held *dum placet regi*.

ART. III.—THE PROPOSED COLLEGE FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Il est très-sérieusement question de fonder à Londres un collège spécial pour les jeunes gens qui se destinent au service civil dans l'Inde. Ce nouvel établissement remplacerait le collège d'Haileybury, si regretté des orientalistes. Déjà le collège du génie civil indien, précurseur de celui-ci, est en plein exercice.— La langue et littérature hindoustani en 1871, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 7.

FROM time to time during the past decade, there has been mooted the scheme alluded to in the above extract—the establishment of a college in which the future members of the Indian Civil Service should be trained for their duties. So long as the project was advocated only by those who were powerless to execute it, no discussion was needed. But the speech of the Secretary of State for India, made at the recent distribution of prizes in the Cooper's Hill College, appears to indicate, however obscurely, that the matter either is, or soon may be, under Ministerial consideration. The time is therefore come, when to point out the objections to any such college being founded, will not be a waste of words. And we propose in the present article to appreciate the relative advantages and disadvantages which would result from its foundation.

We do not intend to touch upon the vexed question of the merits of the competition system. It is enough to observe that it was devised by able men after careful reflection; that it has provided India with officers who are, in the opinion of a judge* both competent and impartial, "much better educated than their predecessors;" that it has been extended to the Public Works Department; and that at home it has, after many years of bitter opposition, been deliberately adopted both for the Civil Service and the Army. Since then the upper classes in England have been thus deprived of their privilege of providing for their offspring at the expense of the State, it may safely be assumed that they will not be able to recover what they were unable to retain. Providence will no doubt still continue to manifest that painful want of consideration towards men in high position, which so often gives them sons with no more talent than their sires; and these will be unable to enter the services by the prescribed portal. But though we condole with the victims we can hold out to them but little hope. For good or for evil, political power has passed to the

* *Minute on the Administration of* Hon'ble J. Fitzjames Stephen, p. 104, *Justice in British India*, by the

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lower middle classes. Ignorant, selfish and venal these may be. But of all those who have inveighed against them,—and they are many,—not one has ever ventured to deny their keen perception of their own interests. They have won in the struggle, and they will naturally enforce the maxim, that to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished. Whether good or bad, therefore, the present open and democratic method of selection is little likely to be replaced by one exclusive and aristocratic.

That there are defects in the present system will be readily admitted, and by none more readily than by those who, like the present writer, differ from the Duke of Argyll by considering it, not merely the best, but the only practicable manner of appointment yet suggested. His Grace affirms that such a college as Cooper's Hill would be "a means of counteracting the evils of the system." As will be seen, we hold a very different opinion. And if in an exposition of our own view, we seem to be in part going again over ground on which many a battle has already been delivered, we must crave indulgence, since it is not possible to estimate the influence of the college upon the alleged evils, without to some degree discussing the evils themselves.

Perhaps it would be as well, before discussing the subject seriously, to refer here to the time-honoured, traditionary taunt, that junior civilians are not gentlemen and cannot ride. To the former part it might be enough to reply that even were it true, it is not to bow with grace or interchange compliments, that they are selected, but to dictate orders and administer justice. Yet we grant that the circumstances of their arrival are not such as to show their social qualities to advantage. Sudden transportation (with the knowledge that it will be for the best years of life), from some gay European capital where the student has been accustomed to meet clever men and pretty women, to that penal colony, a mofussil station, is very trying. In all societies the imbeciles form a majority, in Indian society a large majority. But while in Europe they can be avoided, in India they cannot, and it is impossible for the new comer to always veil his contempt. He is crushed by the magnitude of his calamity, and any social graces he may possess, only begin to unfold themselves again as hope dies away, and he becomes resigned to the inevitable. Allowance too must be made for his critics. Men are rarely tolerant of what they do not understand, and time must elapse before those whose fetish has long been position destitute of intellect, can perfectly reconcile themselves to the startling novelty of position combined with intellect. But there is really no ground for despair. Anglo-Indians, owing to their contact with natives, are deeply imbued with servility to what is high, and veneration for what is customary. And these feelings will slowly efface their asperity. Those who considered the Assistant as

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a clownish upstart, will be among the foremost to fawn on him as Collector, and to toady to him as Commissioner. In fact the Assistant rarely waits so long before he enjoys the exquisite gratification of being pronounced by men with a tenth of his sense and a twentieth of his talent, to be "not so bad after all," or as "really appearing to have something in him." We presume, however (since we hear it so often), that there was a period when the class was excluded from the dismal dinners of Indian society. Nay, we cling to the belief with a passionate fondness, finding in the charms of the past some solace for the terrible realities of the present. Often has one been soothed by dreams of that Arcadian time, after returning from funereal feast, where the conversation was as chill as the wine was warm, and the women as grim as the men were stupid. Alas, scarce has the blissful vision melted into thin air before there comes another awful missive, "requesting the pleasure," &c., and one rises with an insane impulse to immediately go forth and commit some social sin of a dye so deep, that thenceforward one shall never again be permitted to share the banquets of the immortals. Ah happy, happy days, when we were not admitted to these ghastly entertainments! Ah golden age, for ever fled!

Again, as to riding. We have not noticed that the juniors are in this country as much addicted to palkies as their more corpulent seniors. They ride about as well, or as ill, as the non-professional classes at home, and that is quite sufficient for all practical purposes. True, they do not ride as gracefully as those who are attached to a travelling circus or a cavalry regiment. But then the trade of these classes is to ride, that of the civilian to rule. Much in fact of the ridiculous talk about equitation is due to that curious national conceit, that every Englishman can manage a horse; a conceit resting upon about as much substructure of truth as its sister superstition, that no Englishman is ever sea-sick. The number of riders in Western Europe, excluding, of course, professional riders, is really a very small fraction of the population. It is probably larger in England than elsewhere, partly owing to the greater wealth, which enables more men to keep horses, partly owing to the nature of the country, which interposes none of those obstacles to equitation which are to be found in some other parts of Europe; but even in England the proportion is still a small one. It is however the less necessary to dwell on this point as the defect is now generally dilated upon only by some apoplectic warrior across the table, at whose thickening accents as he sips his after-dinner sherry, it is not always easy to restrain a smile. The fancy involuntarily pictures to itself the immeasurable benefits which, in case of mutiny, would accrue to the State from that portly paunch careering wildly over the country, shouting out unintelligible orders in incomprehensible Hindustani.

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Even granting, however, that the ideal civilian is a gentleman rider, the foundation of a college will scarcely promote the attainment of that ideal. Few will contend that a large and expensive institution should be established, in order to teach some three or four dozen young men a year how to ride. If greater proficiency in that art be desirable, it can be had by getting a competent person to see and test the candidate's riding, in place of accepting the mere certificate of the trainer that the pupil he has trained is well trained. Gentlemanliness again cannot be taught. It or its opposite, is acquired by intercourse with other people, especially those round a man at his own home. If the students of the college merely meet in the rooms during lectures, the influence exercised on their manners will be inappreciable. But if residence be enforced, then the tone of the college will of course be that of the majority of the inmates. And as we are assured that the great bulk of these are anything but gentlemen, it would seem unwise to expose the gentlemanly minority to such great peril of contagion.

Passing then from those of the current objections which are frivolous, we come to two which have some basis in fact. The first of these is that the system fosters "cramming," about which much idle complaint is made. This process of preparation is undergone more or less by every competitor, in every examination, at every University in the kingdom. It is simply the mental analogue of the physical training to which the prize fighter is subjected before he enters the ring, and must vary in duration and severity as the examination to be passed is more or less difficult. Hence it is that the Universities and public schools have ceased to educate for the Indian Civil Service. To do so would be to adopt, for the benefit of a comparatively small class of students, a high-pressure method of working, which would be unnecessary for the others, and which it would therefore be impolitic, nay wrong, to attempt. How severe is the strain required by this examination, may be inferred from the statement of so eminent an authority as Sir William Gull, who says that success is only attainable by those endowed with a strong physical organisation, to endure the intense preliminary labour.* That this is so, is doubtless to be regretted. But it is one of those evils which must be passively acquiesced in.

* We may note that those who assert that the Civil Servants of to-day are inferior in physique, are flatly contradicted by the same high authority, who has medically examined all the selected candidates since the introduction of the new system. We have not referred to this theory in the text, since that it is advanced at all, is merely a curious instance of

the "survival" of a mental type belonging to primitive barbarism. Civilised nations, in selecting their rulers, have long since ceased to be actuated by the principle which guided the Hebrew hordes, when they chose Saul, the son of Kish, for their king, because "from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people."

As long as the number to be selected is limited, so long must the standard of examination be regulated by the acquirements not of the least, but of the most advanced of the students, who present themselves. And this being so, we fail to see how the proposed college will remove the evil. If the object of the institution is to prepare students for the open competition, it will be, but one cramming-shop the more. And its success may well be doubted. For while the private crammers, whose livelihood depends on their success, will strain every nerve, the college will be conducted by men sure of their salary in any case, and therefore very much less interested in the result. The proposal, however, to set up at the public cost a mere rival training school, is one so absurd, that we shall throughout this article assume, that the intention is to found a college for candidates already selected. But on this assumption, cramming will be in nowise affected. For the tests which succeed selection are all mere pass examinations, devoid of difficulty, and for which no one ever dreams of cramming.

There remains the gravest of the objections generally made. It is said that the present officials have a less intimate acquaintance than their predecessors with the feelings of the natives, and a greater lack of sympathy with them. And this, though sometimes overstated, is substantially true. The darkest cloud in the political horizon of India is the ever-growing ignorance of the rulers in respect to the ruled. But that this ignorance is not due to the competition system, is apparent. Uncovenanted and military civilians, who are appointed on quite another system, are at least as ignorant as covenanted civilians of the same standing. Its cause must be sought in the immense increase of work, unaccompanied by an equivalent increase of the official staff. Every officer has now far more than he can hope to do; this leaves him no leisure and makes inquiry impossible. Accurate information in respect to native feelings, however, it would still be possible to secure, by reducing, through the appointment of numerous native judges, the work of the European officers to something like what it was in the last generation, perhaps a fourth of what it now is. Much might be done even by abolishing the present system of constant and purposeless transfers, which by rendering it difficult for an officer to know his district, indisposes him to make the attempt. But sympathy between the two races it is, we fear, hopeless to look for, and this from many reasons. Social intercourse leads to friendly feeling and sympathy only when it takes place either between men whose mental development and social position are equal, or between men of whom the one stands to the other in the relation of unquestioned superiority and patronship. From the former condition springs all the kindness of modern Europe. But it was the latter relationship which underlay and gave rise to all the

sympathy between different classes, which existed in Europe during the feudal period, and in India till yesterday. Nowadays, however, the native is becoming, rightly or wrongly, not merely less and less dependent, but more and more unwilling to acknowledge his dependence, while the European officer is more highly educated than at any preceding period. Intercourse consequently is becoming year by year more rare; less pleasurable to the officer, less profitable to the native. Not all the efforts of the Educational Department can bridge this gulf, already well nigh impassable, and widening rapidly from day to day. There is too, between the governors and the governed, the memory of the great mutiny. Neither Englishman nor native has ever forgotten or forgiven that foul and treacherous revolt, nor the barbarous cruelties which accompanied its suppression. It shattered all trust, and for ever; and without trust there can be but little sympathy. So too the more rapid and frequent communication with Europe has turned the eyes of the Englishman ever homeward; and it snapped the most powerful bond of all between the races, when it supplanted the native mistress by the European wife. Yet, if a score of Civil Service Colleges were founded, they would not lessen an officer's work in India, they would not obliterate the sanguinary memories of the mutiny, they would not destroy the Overland Route, they would not rehabilitate the old morality.

We have thus enumerated the objections most frequently raised against the competition system, and we have attempted to show that those objections will be left unaffected by the institution of a college. It is, however, eminently unsatisfactory to be confined to a merely negative demonstration. Yet, as the advocates of the measure have not, so far as we know, formulated their views in any accessible document, we shall have to briefly sketch what the education of a civilian should be, and then inquire whether a new college is needed to provide that education.

We are not disposed to quarrel with the present curriculum: Roman, English, and Indian law; two of the modern languages of India; political economy; and Indian geography and history. The sole subject which we should desire to remove from this well-selected course is the last. The educational value even of European history is very slight; but that of Indian history is almost *nil*. Before we brought the country under one umbrella, the oriental drama had but one set of characters and one set of events. Royal voluptuaries, cruel tyrants, luxurious courts, predatory hordes, ruined cities, desolated provinces,—these form the history of India. They recur in innumerable kaleidoscopic recombinations, but the gaudy-coloured factors are ever the same. It is the restless turmoil of an anthill; there is perpetual movement, but no progress. To study it, is interesting but not profitable; and to inflict a dozen

volumes of Mill, Elphinstone and Marshman, on a student whose whole two years are all too short to fit him for his duties, is surely wrong. A very brief manual would teach him all that will be of use to him. If he care about Indian history, he will continue the study in the country where he will have around him the peoples of whom he reads ; if he do not care about it, he will simply at once forget all that, in order to pass, he has been compelled to learn.

But the remaining course is indispensable. It is in administering the law that three out of four of the civilian's working hours are to be spent, and it is difficult to imagine a more scientifically designed training than that which he now undergoes. The principles on which all systems of law are based, he acquires from the works of the Roman jurists and from those of Bentham, Austin, and Maine. The manner of practically working a legal system is laid bare to him by his enforced attendance at the English law courts. Finally, the study of the Indian Codes, and of Macnaghten, supplies him with the laws in accordance with which his own decisions must be pronounced. It would have been singular had so admirable a curriculum failed of its object. And it is therefore not surprising to learn from Mr. Stephen, that it is in legal training that the superiority of the new over the old civilians is most conspicuously manifested.

That the legal knowledge of the civilian judge is not, as a rule, equal to that of a barrister, is true. But the reason is plain. It is mostly clever young London students who supply both professions. But while the barrister generally devotes his undivided attention to law for four years before he is called, the civilian can give but a part of his attention to it, and that for only two years. We are the more desirous to point this out, as we were sorry to notice in Mr. Stephen's able minute, what seems a faint disparagement of the science of jurisprudence, and a half-expressed wish to abolish that portion of the present training of civilians. To do so would, in our opinion, be a fatal error. Next to the capacity to distinguish between truth and untruth, the faculty of applying abstract principles is the most valuable quality in a judge. And the proportionate importance of this faculty is ever on the increase. To quote the words of Mr. Maine,* "social necessities and social opinion are always more or less in advance of law, and however near we may come to the closing of the gap between them, it has a perpetual tendency to reopen." And in a society so progressive as ours, social necessities and opinion advance so rapidly that panting law toils after them in vain. The proportion of cases, therefore, is perpetually increasing which must be decided, not by the light of any positive enactment, but by the general principles of the science,

* *Ancient Law*, p. 24.

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and by the analogical interpretation of existing laws. That is, the relative values of a knowledge of what the law is, and a knowledge of why the law is so, are surely, though slowly, being inverted. Whence then, we would ask, is the judge to derive the power of being able to speak when the law is silent, save from a more careful study of the science of jurisprudence? Fortunately, this point is capable of more than a merely theoretical demonstration. There exists a body of men who possess an accurate knowledge of the law, but have never received any training in legal principles. And those who are best acquainted with native practitioners in mofussil courts, will be the first to call to mind the singular inequality of their pleading. With the letter of the law they are probably more familiar than the judge himself. Their keenness in detecting minute inaccuracies is sometimes marvellous. But as soon as the advocate, who has just been citing acts and circulars with astonishing fluency, comes to touch upon some point in regard to which nothing is written, his reasoning becomes deplorably childish.

Good, however, as is the present legal training of civilians, it is already becoming inadequate. And as the law becomes more and more defined and exacting, and the proportion between the number of the population and the number of cases instituted rises in this country to what it is in England (a result to which the increased knowledge of the natives is rapidly tending), a point will be speedily reached where the present system must break down. It is very rare to find a man who can properly perform the infinitely varied administrative work necessary in India, and at the same time properly fulfil all judicial duties, under a system of law constantly increasing in refinement. That enough of such men can be found to fill the service, is an idle dream. The judicial and executive branches must consequently be separated at no distant date; and it may be added, that a perverse refusal on the part of the civilians to recognise the fact that as work increases division of labour must be resorted to, will only lead to their entire exclusion from a judiciary for which they will not have fitted themselves. The separation, we think, should be effected in London, so as to allow of a longer training for the judicial branch. We are aware that many would like to delay the separation for some years, urging that the native inside and outside of our courts is a different being, and that it is desirable to see something of him outside of the courts. It is of course possible that a native may lie less to a European out of court, than to the same European in it, since it is absolutely impossible that he should lie more. But this is scarcely relevant. Every civil officer in India is indebted almost exclusively to what takes place in his own court, for his knowledge of the natives; it is in the struggles there, that character is most clearly revealed, not in the courtly compliments employed in a brief and

formal private interview. And as regards visiting, it should be remembered that a judicial officer, on leaving his court, does not retire to Europe on a magic carpet till the next morning. Except a month or six weeks spent in camp in some years in the cold weather, the one officer would have no more contact with natives than the other. Camping is doubtless useful. But it should be taken into account that owing to press of work all the officers cannot get into camp every year, and even when they can they are still surrounded by their court underlings. This slight and casual advantage then is all that there is to set off against the grave disadvantage, that if the separation be delayed, all the candidates must leave Europe after the same training. If that training be of the present short duration, then no improvement in judicial knowledge can be expected, nor can the candidates be called to the bar. If the training be lengthened, then, as regards the half which will ultimately adopt the executive branch, the expense of preparing instruments which will never be used, will be added to the cost of an already too expensive service; while as regards the half which will adopt the judicial branch, by burdening them for several years with miscellaneous and executive duties, we shall have deliberately blunted the instruments it cost so much to sharpen.

We have dwelt long, perhaps too long, on this part of the student's education. But our excuse must be, that in the present condition of our Eastern Empire, the study of law is of all studies the most important. As to the other requisites we shall be less tedious. Next in importance to a knowledge of the law, is a knowledge of the vernacular such as to be able to expound that law clearly and fluently. In this, too, the present course needs no improvement. The candidate receives a thorough grammatical grounding, and is introduced to the best literary works in the languages in ordinary use in his presidency. He consequently soon after landing gains a conversational familiarity with them, and in this respect exception can rarely be taken to civilians.

The instruction too in political economy is careful, though the *Wealth of Nations* might well be removed from the list of works prescribed. It has been styled by an able thinker* "the most important book that has ever been written," but it is not adapted for a text-book. In M'Culloch's edition, half of the book is occupied by appendices and notes rectifying errors in the text. Subsequent progress has, in fact, relegated Adam Smith's great work from the position of an authoritative exposition of the science, to that of a venerable landmark in its history. A book declared by the foremost writer† on the subject, to be "in many parts obsolete,

* Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, Chapter iv.

† Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*. Preface.

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and in all imperfect," is not the one that should be chosen with which to begin the study. The admirable manuals of Professor Fawcett or Professor Thorold Rogers, or Bastiat's *Harmonies Economiques*, should be substituted for it. We believe, indeed, that one or two of these books would suffice. Adequately to study the masterpiece of Mr. Mill, requires an inordinate portion of the student's very limited time. And any of the smaller books would be enough to teach all that the majority of the candidates will ever need. Little is wanted, save to eradicate the belief, so easily engendered in the mind of every official, that Government is omnipotent for good or for evil, by tracing the very narrow bounds within which its power is confined; and to destroy the desire for perpetual interference and regulation, which naturally springs from that belief, by showing that when Government oversteps its proper limits, the result is always pernicious, often disastrous.

It is these three subjects, law, political economy, and the vernaculars, which, under any system of selection whatever, must constitute the essentials of the special subsequent education of the candidates selected. Before founding an expensive college to be paid for out of Indian revenues, it is, we think, incumbent on the proposers to show both that the present colleges afford insufficient facilities for learning these subjects, and that the proposed college will afford superior facilities. And we venture to think that they can show neither the one nor the other. It is, perhaps, as well to note that the assertion, that at present candidates can learn if they wish, but that some of them won't learn unless they are supervised and kept to work, is totally irrelevant. The remedy for that is a sharp one, quite in the hands of the Civil Service Commissioners, and not suffered to fall into disuse. Candidates who either through indolence or through distaste for Indian studies, fail to come up to the prescribed standard, are remorselessly rejected.

Is it then the fact that proper instruction in these subjects cannot be obtained? Nothing can be further from the truth. Jurisprudence and political economy are taught, and as a rule, well taught, at every University in Christendom. The same is the case with Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. The replies made by the English, Scotch and Irish Universities to the enquiries addressed to them by the Civil Service Commissioners on this very question, show that in every one of them admirable teaching can be had in English and Indian law, and in the modern languages. And in London, where most of the candidates spend their time, there are, besides two colleges, the Inns of Court to teach law, and numbers of moonshees to teach the languages.

What want then is there which will be filled by the college?

Or is it even likely to do the same work in a better way? Emphatically not. Dear bought experience has enforced the truth, that when Government manages an institution, it will in all probability be mismanaged, even if at first it had the fairest prospects. But the proposed college would not start with such prospects. The worth of such a college would depend upon the eminence of its Professors. Does any one suppose that the ambitious scholars of the present day, men of European name and fame, would for anything short of impossible salaries, resign their appointments and devote themselves to the humble task of teaching a couple of score of striplings in a nameless academy? Would Professor Weber leave Berlin to teach them Sanskrit, or M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris, to teach them Hindustani? Nay, to confine ourselves to the kingdom. Would Professor Max Müller, who refused the request so flattering to his patriotic pride, to exchange his chair at Oxford for one at the venerable University of Strasbourg, be likely to undertake the task of instructing a few youths at a petty seminary for the service of a foreign Government? We think not. At least we know with what quiet contempt that laborious genius, for whose recent decession to the majority philology is still mourning, declined even to set the examination papers.* Would Sir H. S. Maine relinquish his present brilliant position to impart the elements of jurisprudence, or Dr. Wright abandon the British Museum to inculcate the rudiments of Arabic? Few will be sanguine enough to reply in the affirmative. No, the truth simply is, that first class men would not care for such professorates. We are therefore thrown back upon second-rate teachers, and the college would doubtless ultimately become an asylum for indigent and broken-down Anglo-Indians, desirous of scraping together a few more rupees.

But it is sometimes argued that in the interests of oriental learning such a college is desirable. If this be so, then let that be candidly put forward as the ground for its foundation, not the dishonest pretence that it is needed to educate civilians. It is scarcely worth discussing whether oriental learning would or would not be advanced by the college, since even if it would, it is quite certain that, in the present state of the finances, the wishes

* We may be permitted here to express a hope, that Dr. Cowell will not delay to publish the Sanskrit Grammar, left in manuscript by Professor Goldstücker. It is doubtless imperfect, for nothing finished could ever proceed from a man whose revision of his work was simply endless, and whose love of accuracy and

carefulness was positively painful, being carried to such lengths that he would have regarded a misplaced comma on his toned and gilt-edged paper as a sin, and a slip of the pen as a crime. None the less would its publication be the greatest of boons to all who feel an interest in Sanskrit.

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of orientalists could scarcely be consulted. For our part, however, we do not think such assistance needed. Oriental studies have long since outgrown their infancy, when State aid was indispensable. They are being prosecuted more vigorously, and in more manifold directions, than ever before. And were money to be granted, we think it would be less wisely spent in founding chairs than in forming libraries. For the latter end MSS. should be purchased at favorable opportunities (such as the recent famine in Persia), and subventions made towards publishing valuable and expensive works, the sale of which must be too limited to justify their publication on purely commercial principles. Find the books and the students will find themselves. Or, if England with all her wealth and her intimate connection with the East, fail to furnish the latter in sufficient numbers, the task may be left with safety, though also with shame, to another nation less wealthy, but more erudite and more disinterested. And the students of to-day are the professors of to-morrow.

We have, indeed, heard it used as an argument, that such a college would publish translations of many German books of great worth. But in addition to the fact, that it is not necessary to found a college in order to do what could be done by a few competent translators on £100 a year, we consider it no part of the business of Government to publish such translations. To publish original works containing new and valuable information is one thing, and for such a purpose we should be disinclined to grudge any reasonable sum. But to publish English transcripts of facts already recorded in a well-known European tongue is quite another thing, and is merely a waste of money to save idlers from the consequences of their idleness. Not only would it be impracticable to translate all that teems from the myriad learned societies of Germany, but the advantage of doing so, even were it practicable, is yearly lessening, as more and more Englishmen study German. Indeed, to attempt any oriental study in these days, without knowing German, is much like trying to walk with only one leg : some movement is possible, but it is slow and painful.

Let it not for a moment be understood that we wish to disparage the value, to a Government servant in India, of oriental scholarship. There is no description of knowledge, of which it can be safely predicated, that in a country such as this, it will never stand the Government in good stead. And it is much to be desired that amongst the servants of the State, there should be a certain number of able linguists. But in their case it is only the foundations that can be laid in Europe. The superstructure must be built up here. And the orders headed "rules for the encouragement of the study of oriental languages by the members of the

Bengal Civil Service,"* might with much more propriety be entitled rules for the discouragement of such study. Not only must the officer report his intention three months beforehand, and obtain leave of absence from the Local Government, but he must go down to Calcutta, perhaps a thousand miles off; and even then he is not permitted to be examined in whatever language he may prefer. In place of being only too glad that he should devote his scanty leisure to any Eastern language of use in his presidency, the Government prescribes the succession in which he may take them up, and that succession is curiously absurd. Thus an Oudh officer must on no account be examined in Hindi—the language of more than 11 millions out of the twelve millions who inhabit the province—unless he has previously passed in Urdu, which is the language of less than a million, or in Persian, which is not spoken by any class. So, too, an officer may be stationed at Delhi, round which cluster the memories of the Mahábhárata, or at Ajuddhia, the home of the hero of the Rámáyana, but if he study Sanskrit, he must do so without reward, unless under the same restriction. If the Government really desire that civilians should become orientalists, these frivolous and vexatious restrictions must be swept away. An officer must be at liberty to choose what language he likes for examination, and the quarterly tests should take place alternately in Calcutta and say Agra or Allahabad. At present, in many cases, the cost of the return journey and of the sojourn in the metropolis, can scarcely be estimated at less than a month's pay, while even if in a vernacular language a prize be gained, it is only two months' pay. There is, too, one other foolish and narrow-minded rule, the abolition of which would probably double the number of students. An officer may hoard up three months of privilege leave, may then get a month's leave for his examination, and if successful, may be granted another month, making five months continuous absence from duty. But the framer of the leave rules appears to have thought, that to take the five months in the opposite order, first examination and then privilege leave, would imperil the empire. Accordingly an officer must travel up from Calcutta or elsewhere at the close of his two months' examination leave, in order to solemnly report himself at his station; although half an hour afterwards he may be travelling back again on his way to Europe, on three months' privilege leave. This is of course a relic of the old prohibitions against going home. But as the policy which dictated those prohibitions has at length been abandoned, we trust that this last vestige of it (which, while saving neither

* We speak only of the Bengal in the other Presidencies. rules, being ignorant of those in force

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time nor money as regards the State, wastes both as regard its servants) will speedily disappear.

A college is however sometimes advocated on the ground that if it does nothing else, it will at least further morality, save the mark, among the students. It is hard to perceive how the morality of civilians differs from that of ordinary mortals, even though an irate surgeon has been good enough to call them "abandoned intellectual reprobates."* In comparison with other men, we should have thought that a class of men in whom a large proportion of the total sum of vital energy was drained away by the needs of an active brain, would excel in purity of life those classes in which the proportion so absorbed was less; and we could scarcely have imagined that the present generation of civilians, who frequently come out married, could have been unfavourably contrasted with the former generation, who on their arrival contracted native connections. To practical men, however, it will probably appear enough if the morality of the Service is not beneath the ordinary level. And to those who have grasped Buckle's demonstration, that the advance of civilisation depends not upon morality, but upon intellect,—the former being in itself stationary, the latter progressive,—the matter will appear indifferent. But as many men are neither practical nor readers of Buckle, it is better to point out that experience does not favour the belief, that to coop up a small number of young men under severe restraint, tends to develop morality. The country where the theory has been most extensively put in practice is France. Yet Adolphe and Gustave after all their rigid discipline both at the *lycée* and the *collège*, would scarcely be considered valuable acquisitions by any virtuous community. Of course the assumption can be made, that this is due to some mysterious and innate propensity to vice on the part of Frenchmen. But those who recollect what was unveiled a few years back at Sandhurst will smile at the assumption, and continue to believe that similar systems produce similar results, whether the country in which they are enforced be France or England. At present most of the candidates reside with their parents or friends. No better arrangement in respect to morality can be imagined. And the proposal is one which will scarcely be supported by any honest man, that for the benefit of the residue, the people of India are to be saddled with a heavy charge. And all for what? To make

* *Competition and the Civil Service.*
By Dr. G. C. M. Birdwood. On reading this rabid little pamphlet we quite sympathised with the exclamation of the Northern farmer—

Doctor a knaws nowt, for a says
what's naw ways true.

Should Dr. Birdwood consider this rather a rude rejoinder, we can only say that "abandoned reprobate" is not usually considered as an epithet of endearment, even if qualified by throwing in such an adjective as "intellectual."

the attempt,—an attempt which every man who will candidly think back upon his own youth knows must fail,—to prevent a few students laughing away the hours with Lisette, or becoming tearfully sentimental with Löttchen.

The object of moral education has been accurately defined by a profound thinker* whose words we cannot do better than desire the advocates of a college to carefully weigh. "The aim of your discipline should be, to produce a self-governing being; not to produce a being to be governed by others. All transitions are dangerous, and the most dangerous is the transition from the restraint of the family circle, to the non-restraint of the world. Hence the importance of the policy which cultivates a boy's faculty of self-restraint, by continually increasing the degree in which he is left to his self-restraint, and so by bringing him, step by step, to a state of unaided self-restraint, obliterates the ordinary and hazardous change from externally-governed youth to internally-governed maturity." This discipline is needed even in Europe, where on emancipation the young man will emerge into the society of his equals, each of whom knows his rights, and can resist any encroachment on them. Far more is it needed, when he will be placed in a country where he will have but few European superiors, so that supervision can only be slight; and made ruler over a people proverbially subservient to those in authority, and the majority of whom neither know what their rights are, nor how to protect them if infringed. Yet for this wise self-restraint it is proposed to substitute a college discipline which will result "either in that hot-house virtue which over-regulation produces in yielding natures, or in that demoralising antagonism which it produces in independent ones."

We have reserved the final argument. We have, it is said, founded a college of similar character to supply India with engineers, and there can be but little doubt that it will improve the public service; why not draw the natural inference? We quite admit that the Cooper's Hill College will profoundly modify the Public Works Department; and we think it at present so execrably bad, that any modification must be an improvement. We say this knowing that it has been recently declared by its vain-glorious head to be the best managed of all Indian departments,—a declaration of such appalling audacity, that the only charitable explanation is to suppose, that while its author knew nothing of his own department, he knew less than nothing of any other. But the two services are so entirely disparate that no analogy can be drawn between them.

Strongly as we are opposed to Government Colleges, we are

* Herbert Spencer. *Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, p. 140.

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constrained to admit that the one recently founded was a necessity. The class demanded was one which could not be otherwise supplied. The experiment at Rurki had failed to provide adequately instructed engineers in adequate numbers; and at home, neither private institutions nor public universities could give the education needed. In the studies of the civilian, a shelf or two of books is enough for him to attain a high degree of proficiency; a teacher is a luxury rather than a necessity; and both books and teachers are readily got. It is not so with the engineer. His profession cannot be learnt from books alone. Not only are teachers essential, but he needs a school furnished with the requisite plant and machinery for him to study. Teachers, it would, perhaps, not be hard to find. But a workshop, which is as necessary to him as a laboratory to the student of chemistry, it is beyond the means of a private student to set up, while the premium demanded for admission to good workshops at home, is so large as to preclude the hope that a sufficient supply of engineers could be obtained through that channel.

This is the first and most obvious of the necessary disparities of the education required for the two professions. But there is another equally great. Whilst languages and political economy are the same wherever studied, and the slight variances between the legal systems of different countries can be learnt wherever their law books are obtainable, this is not the case with engineering. For a country where for hundreds of miles it is impossible to find stone of any kind; where each year a gigantic freshet must be regularly anticipated; where rivers have an unpleasant habit of varying their courses, leaving high and dry the bridges built over them; where excessive heat and excessive moisture injuriously affect all wood work; where white ants go to and fro, seeking what they may devour and too frequently finding it,—for such a country it is manifest that the engineer requires a special training, widely differing from what is needful for him at home. But this is not all. There are very few professors of Hindustani, who can teach the equivalents for the technical terms of engineering. Nor is this to be wondered at since few save professional men understand the meaning of those terms even in their own language. Without the college then, from their ignorance of the language and of the special conditions under which their art must be applied, the young engineers must either have been allowed to do no work after their arrival in this country till they had conquered their ignorance, or they must have been employed in running up buildings that would not stand and making roads that would not last. In either event the cost to the public would much exceed the cost of the Cooper's Hill College. Even, however, if we have not made the distinction between the two cases clear, we still

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think, that unless some more direct advantage can be shown, it would be a most lame and impotent conclusion to found a college for the Civil Service, merely because one has been founded for the Public Works Department.

We have now exhausted the arguments ordinarily adduced in favour of the college. It is time to speak of its direct disadvantages. And as in speaking of the former we have endeavoured to nothing extenuate, so in speaking of the latter we shall set down naught in malice. The writer may, indeed, claim for his opinion the merit of perfect disinterestedness. From among the crowds who annually throng the portals of the Happy Valley, he has already been selected; and if, like Rasselas, he has not found content within it, he has at least no direct personal interest in the probation to which those are to be subjected, who must bear, like himself, the bitter burden of exile. And his indirect interest, like that of every other civilian, would urge that the college be founded. In the struggle to gain our proper share of power and place, no auxiliary could be so welcome as a compact phalanx of juniors pressing us forward. It is this, we fancy, which is generally meant, when it is said that the college would promote *esprit de corps*. But it would be an insult to the service to suppose that it contains many men who would support the scheme on this ground. There is already quite enough *esprit de corps* for any honest purpose; and that it is possible to have too much of it was shown in the Haileybury days. The pollution of office by shameless favouritism, the burning hatred of "interlopers," that is, of every European in India outside the service,—these we think were practices and feelings which, for the public welfare, it is undesirable should be revived.

Since it is upon our opponents that lies the burden of proof, we feel that we have the right to be more brief as regards the disadvantages which would result from the college. Some of them have already incidentally disclosed themselves, such as the probability that the standard of education and the tone of morality will be injuriously affected. We need but glance at the impediments which, if the college be situated out of London, will be thrown in the way of candidates in that very important part of their training,—their frequent attendance at the law courts. We pass to the question of cost. At Cooper's Hill the charge is £150 a year, and yet the institution will not be self-supporting.* The Civil Service College cannot cost less. Yet £150 for two

* In less than two years the Indian Civil Engineering College has cost the country over a million of rupees. It is true most of this is for building, &c. But in the last account we get a glimmering of what the cost of the staff will be, over £10,000 a year. The whole expense at present of the preliminary training of civilians is a little over £17,000 yearly.

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years would swallow up the whole of the candidate's allowance, leaving him nothing for outfit or for passage. Hence the expenses, both of the State and of the student, will be increased. The former evil need not be dilated upon, but as regards the latter, we would observe that the price of admission to the Civil Service is already too high, and that every rise in it falsifies more and more the noble proclamation made to all classes by the genius of equality on the introduction of the competition system,

Fling our doors wide ! all, all, not one, but all,
Whatever man have talent, friend or foe,
Shall enter if he will.

But let us waive all other objections ; let us grant that the college would turn out men who would excel in learning the Admirable Crichton, in politeness Lord Chesterfield, in purity Sir Galahad. We are content to base our opposition to it on the one ground that it would be fatal to their originality. Fully to illustrate the value of this quality would require a volume. But we have collected from the *Essay on Liberty*,* the following pearls of aphoristic wisdom, which we lay before our readers : "The object towards which every human being must ceaselessly direct his efforts, and on which especially those who design to influence their fellow men must ever keep their eyes, is the individuality of power and development ; for this there are two requisites, freedom and variety of circumstances ; from the union of these arise individual vigour and manifold diversity, which combine themselves into originality. Individuality is the same thing with development, and it is only the cultivation of individuality which produces, or can produce, well-developed human beings. In proportion to the development of his individuality, each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is therefore capable of being more valuable to others. If it were only that people have diversities of taste, that is reason enough for not attempting to shape them all after one model. But different persons also require different conditions for their spiritual development ; and can no more exist healthily in the same moral, than all the varieties of plants can in the same physical, atmosphere and climate." For those who think they can do very well without originality, we continue our quotation :—" Unhappily this is too natural to be wondered at. Originality is the one thing which unoriginal minds cannot feel the use of. They cannot see what it is to do for them : how should they ? If they could see what it would do for them, it would not be originality. The first service which originality has to render them is that of opening their eyes : which being once fully done, they would have a chance

* They will be found in the third chapter ; but the first is from Wilhelm v. Humboldt's *Ideen zu einem Ver-*

such die Gränzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen.

of being themselves original. Meanwhile, recollecting that nothing was ever yet done which some one was not the first to do, and that all good things which exist are the fruits of originality, let them be modest enough to believe that there is something still left for it to accomplish, and assure themselves that they are more in need of originality, the less they are conscious of the want." For the comfort of those who consider the books of Mr. Mill as so many arsenals of incendiary doctrines, we will add that they will find the same theory, though much diluted, in the last work of Mr. Helps, and that when a theory finds a place in the works of that writer, it may be safely ranked as no longer a disputed truth but an undisputed platitude.

If such be the value of originality in Europe, where nations are self-sufficient, and Governments comprise but an infinitesimal fraction of the national intelligence, what must not be its value in the official of India, where outside the Government there is no intelligent class, and where every advance, and every improvement must be not merely suggested, but carried out and superintended by Government servants?

How then are we to secure this priceless quality? True or primary originality cannot be taught. That sacred flame man cannot kindle, though it is only too possible for him to extinguish it. But secondary or comparative originality, which comes next in value, may be acquired by studying what is generally neglected, and by knowing what is generally ignored. Hence the easiest way to acquire it is by residence in foreign countries. "Travel," says Bacon, "in the younger sort is a part of education;" it is scarcely too much to say, its best part. Though scholastic education be well, it is the out-of-school education which makes the man. Rapidity in discernment, promptitude in determination are not learnt from books. If studies "perfect nature, they are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants that need pruning by study: and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience." But if our future officials are to be boxed up in a college, how can we hope for originality? Within its precincts where are they to find the opportunities for that "conference, which makes a ready man," and that observation of the world which makes a wise man?

We trust that we have made our meaning clear. If we have, we feel satisfied that we shall not altogether lack support. For public opinion at home has on this point advanced greatly during the last twenty years. It is no longer believed that all that is good must necessarily be English; and the complementary truth is already being perceived that all that is English need not necessarily be good. But for those who prefer a concrete example to an

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abstract theorem, we will give a single instance of the value of a knowledge of foreign institutions. The land-system of England, whatever be its merits or demerits, is now known to be radically different from that of most other countries, to be in fact almost unique. In India, where agriculture is nearly the sole occupation of the people, the land question is the most important of State problems. Yet at the end of the last century, our governors with the greatest good faith, applied the land-system of England—the only one with which they were familiar—to the land of Bengal. And this error is now generally admitted to have been in its consequences the most stupendous of the many we have committed in the East. Nor let it be said that we are now so enlightened that such dangers cannot recur. We are much less ignorant than we were; but men who had studied the statesmanship of Stein and Hardenberg, or who were acquainted with the diffused well-being produced in France by sub-divided holdings, would scarcely have acquiesced in the creation of the *latifundia* of Oudh, or have supported the recent proposal to extend the permanent settlement. To Englishmen foreign experience is exceptionally valuable, for “the country to which the rule of India has fallen is that of all the countries of Europe in which there is least that is analogous to oriental institutions.”*

We therefore hold that it would be much wiser to establish travelling scholarships,† especially for those candidates destined for the administrative branch of the service, than to imprison them in a college. We would at least diminish the number of periodical examinations now held, from four to two, that the students might live abroad, if they liked, with less difficulty than they now can. Surely, surely, a body of young men selected at the same age from the same country, are not so dangerously unlike each other (particularly if we consider that Englishmen are rather late in maturing, and that all the candidates leave Europe before four and twenty,) that we need strive to lessen that unlikeness.

That enforced residence in any educational establishment is prejudicial to originality, may be seen from the contrast between English and German Universities. The material on which they work is much the same. Professor Huxley, indeed, considers, that whatever difference there is, is in favour of the Englishman. The revenues of either of the great English seats of learning would

* *On the land-system of India.* By G. Campbell (*Cobden Club Essays*), p. 199.

† It may be noted that such scholarships have been already established by the Belgian Chambers for young graduates of the various facul-

ties, and that M. Jules Simon has introduced into the National Assembly, a *projet de loi* in the same sense. Such a measure is of course not needed in Germany, where the students have always been in the habit of travelling.

probably buy up all the Universities of Germany. Yet a petty university of the latter country will frequently send out in a single year as many men who will do her honour, as an English university in three. But while in England the students live in the university, in Germany they do not. And while on a given subject an Oxford man can only tell you what is known at Oxford, a Cambridge man what is known at Cambridge, a German student has begun his studies, perhaps, at Berlin, has then read a semester or two at Göttingen, has then passed on to Leipzig, perhaps thence has gone to *hospitieren* at Heidelberg, and has ended by becoming a *privat docent* at Bonn. The one has therefore studied his subject in only one light, the other in many. And it is noticeable that most modern Englishmen of marked originality have not been educated in the English way. Buckle never went to a public school, neither Mill nor Faraday were ever resident at an university.

But the proposed Civil Service College would be very much worse than any university. At the latter there are at least sufficient numbers to constitute many cliques, in the former there would not be. How much this difference would affect the result may be seen by comparing English public with English private schools. Till a few years back no education could well be more intrinsically worthless than that given at the former, while the curriculum of the latter was often far more rational. Yet the private schools never turned out such a proportion of able men as the public ones. And why? Because the variety of opinion, the tolerance of dissent which in the public schools was produced by the collision of many conflicting little coteries, more than counterbalanced the superior scholastic training given in the private schools, where parties were fewer, and where opinion therefore remained undeveloped. The students in a Civil Service College would naturally fall into the error of "thinking the rustic cackle of their bourg, the murmur of the world;" they would, in spite of themselves, become narrow-minded. Those who think it possible to inculcate learning, and yet leave the rest of the faculties to develop at a later period, betray singular ignorance of human nature. It is during the college years of a young man's life that occurs that fermentation in his mind which determines its subsequent value. You cannot arrest or retard it. If you do not help him to form opinions, he will form prejudices for himself. And English prejudices are both unusually numerous and unusually tenacious.

We were glad to see in a recent *Quarterly* a violent attack on the competition system. For arguments serve Conservatives as cavalry serves a defeated army,—they cover a retreat. When the reactionists take to writing articles, it is because they no longer look for a successful division. But it is not the gloomy forebodings of the writer that we propose to controvert. Direful vaticinations of the disasters that must befall from the withdrawal of

their watchful care, terrifying prophecies of the inevitable shipwreck that must ensue when their hand is no longer on the helm, form a part of the stock-in-trade of vanquished politicians. It would be cruel to deny to those who have lost such consolation as can thus be found. Nor do we intend to reply to the strictures passed by the writer on the new system. The article was singularly self-contradictory and may be left to refute itself. Even were it not so, it would be useless for us to fight over again the prolonged battle that has just been won, in which the enemy, after being first dislodged from their Indian strongholds, have at length been beaten along the whole line. But the writer cited from De Tocqueville, a passage which appears to bear out our views about a college. After stating that the first consequence of the system was the democratisation of the public service (a result it is producing in England), that keen critic goes on to denounce the 'polytechniquisation' of the students. The subject is one to which we may well devote a paragraph.

The history of the Polytechnic School merits careful consideration by the advocates of Government Colleges. Instituted in 1794, principally through the exertions of Carnot, it has ever since been assiduously nurtured by the most war-loving State on the continent. Dynasties have faded but the Polytechnic has flourished. It was founded by the first Republic; it was organised by the Great Napoleon; at the Restoration it was re-organised; by the Legitimists it was cherished; under the Empire it was the object of supreme solicitude. Successive rulers lavished money upon it with no sparing hand. The cleverest students were recruited for it from every province of France, and to teach them were provided the most eminent men of an eminently scientific nation. Within its walls taught Lagrange and Laplace, Say and Berthollet, Poisson and Arago. But ever since its re-constitution, half a century back, the school has fallen into the natural groove of all State institutions. It has laboured with all its energies to cast all its students in the same mould. And except in the case of a very few, too strong to be completely compressed, its labours have been crowned with entire success. The absolute intersimilitude produced, would have obtained and deserved the highest praise, had the institution been a manufactory for cartridges in place of a school for officers. De Tocqueville tells us that all the students were exactly alike, and that all were of mediocre ability. If the training had eliminated stupidity, it had also eliminated genius. And the fearful penalty exacted for having thus crushed individuality, we have witnessed in our own day. The system was scarcely tested in the Crimea, but it showed signs of yielding in Italy, and it fell by the Rhine with a crash that shook the world.

It is hard, indeed, to see what other the result could have

been. But it is harder still to see why the introduction of a similar system into England should be so rashly urged. We disapprove of a Civil Service College, because we think it would naturally follow the path of its brilliant precursor, and because we fear it would attain a like deplorable success. The interference of Government in the higher branches of education ought to be dreaded. Even where there must be a Government College it is at best a necessary evil. And not merely should the preliminary enquiry as to its necessity be most searching, but if its foundation cannot be avoided, stringent precautions should be taken to restrain that interference within bounds as narrow as possible. It may sometimes be expedient for Government to provide students with appliances and means to enable them to learn ; it can never be expedient to compel them to avail themselves of the proffered help. The example of the Polytechnic is surely so striking that it is needless for us to provide another in our own country, to show the justice of the solemn warning of a great English thinker : "the worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it ; and a State, which postpones the interests of *their* mental expansion and elevation, to a little more of administrative skill, or of that semblance of it which practice gives, in the details of business ; a State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes,—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished ; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed every thing, will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power, which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish."

We have tried to show that originality, of high value in any country, is of the highest value in India. Is then the present the time when to dispense with it will cause less loss than at any other period ? Far from it. The words of the seer of forty years ago are more applicable than ever : "*je vois l'Orient qui se trouble en lui-même ; il regarde ses antiques palais crouler, ses vieux temples tomber en poudre, et il lève les yeux comme pour chercher d'autres grandeurs et un autre Dieu.**" Caste, the cement which has held together the social edifice from time immemorial, is losing its binding power. The barriers of race are being broken down. The Brahman steams into Benares in the same carriage with the Chamar. The Musalmán of Delhi marches under the same colours with the Rajput of Jodhpur. Even that venerable creed which stands like some gigantic sea-cliff, at the base of which the tide of humanity has ebbed and flowed for countless centuries, begins to totter towards its fall. The efforts of gene-

* Lamennais, *Paroles d'un Croyant*, p. 34.

rations of missionaries to undermine it, were as ineffectual as would have been those of a colony of limpets. But it vibrated with a strange tremor as the iron horse dashed by in thunder, and it was blasted by the telegraph as with fire from heaven. A moral chaos is returning. All is becoming without form and void ; darkness is falling upon the face of the earth ; the deluge of doubt is rising fast. The sacred Vedas have once more disappeared ; it is time for a new Avatára. When Narâyana, upborne on the coils and overcanopied by the heads of the serpent of infinity, again appears floating over the dark waters of the ocean of incertitude, and bearing with him the resplendent lotos of truth, who are the rishis to whom he will confide the sowing of the seeds, whence shall spring the new order of things ? Scarcely to those who enwrap themselves in the mantle of careless selfishness, or to those who sit solitary, mourning with unavailing regret, the world that has perished. Rather will it be to those devout sages, who recognising in the new cosmos but a palingenesia of that previously existent, desire to apply themselves earnestly to the fulfilling of the divine intentions

To abandon metaphor : India has reached the age of transition ; she stands in pressing need of able rulers, men of the greatest originality, and the highest adaptive capacity, that they may seize and save what there is of good in native institutions, lest it perish with the rest. And while our work, since it is moulding the destinies of far-off generations of men, is more momentous than ever before, our influence is daily decreasing. We are becoming less and less able, even if we discover an error, to unbuild and build up aright that which we have once built up awrong. It then we fail in our task, if we mar the future of the races committed to our charge, if we increase the sufferings we ought to alleviate, we venture to predict that it will be but a faint consolation for those vast populations who revere the Shastras, the Kurân or the Granth, who feed on pulse and are clad in rags,—it will be, we repeat, for them but a faint consolation to learn, that the officers through whose feebleness and incapacity their woes have been multiplied, were in the habit of dining daily in hall, arrayed in academical attire, and were distinguished for their punctuality in attending morning chapel.

Sententiam dixi, animam liberavi. The writer has little to add. The projected college will commend itself to those pernicious theorists who long to leave nothing unmanaged by Government ; it will captivate those feeble minds for which the deceptive beauty of centralisation possesses an irresistible fascination ; it will secure the selfish adherence, in England, of all those who may hope for the new places in the gift of the ministry, and, in India, of those degenerate civilians who prefer the interests of their

class to the interests of the State. But we trust that those who are not included in these categories will join with us in cordially condemning it. We condemn it because it can do no good and will do much harm; because it will cost much and be worth nothing; because the infliction by its alien rulers, of a needless charge on a subject people would be at any time an injustice; and because to inflict such charge at a moment when taxation is pressing so severely as to give rise to serious distress and wide-spread discontent, appears to border upon political insanity.*

W. H. M.

* Were the financial interests of India as keenly looked to at home as are those of England, we should have little fear of the measure being introduced by the present ministry, so long as the Chancellor of the Exchequer held office. For Mr. Lowe has already recorded, "in my judgment, money is better spent in giving exhibitions to young men, leav-

ing them free to choose the place of their education, than in paying persons to teach them, since in the one case the inducement of the teacher to work is diminished, while in the other the student with money in his hand is sure to find the best teacher for himself." (Letter in the *Times* of June 3rd, 1872.)

ART. IV.—THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT IN BOMBAY.

- 1.—*A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, relating to India and neighbouring countries*, compiled by C. U. Aitchison, B.C.S., Vol. VI., containing the Treaties, &c., relating to the States within the Bombay Presidency. Calcutta. 1864.
- 2.—*General Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1870-71.*

THE year 1872 will take high place in the annals of Bombay, for it would be difficult to over-rate the importance of the event that has lately taken place, amid such rejoicings, in the capital of the Western Presidency. From the establishment, at the end of last century, of the office of Governor-General until 1854, no official holding that great position went there during his term of office; and after the visit of Lord Dalhousie, though Governors-General elect passed through Bombay, none actually holding the reins of power until last year favoured the place with a visit. In 1872, Bombay for the first time saw face to face the officials composing the Government of India, and the Rajahs and Sirdars of the Presidency were received in Durbar by the Viceroy in person. Much might be written on the advantages that may arise from the wise step Lord Northbrook has thus taken—the settlement of long-standing questions facilitated by personal discussion on the spot—the acquisition of local information that could never be gained from mere correspondence, and the effacement to some extent, we may hope, of presidential prejudices and jealousies which have done so much to mar our work in this country. These and other topics of the kind would afford ample material for long and interesting disquisition, but our object on the present occasion is a different one. It has occurred to us that this is a good opportunity to carry into effect an intention that has for some time past been gradually forming itself in our mind, and surely no more proper period could be found for the publication of some remarks on the administration of the Political Department in Bombay than the time when all India has been regarding with interest the spectacle of the Native Princes and Chiefs of the Presidency, assembled, with one notable exception, to meet for the first time Her Majesty's representative. It would be assuming too much, perhaps, to postulate in our readers very clear ideas regarding the Native States of Western India, so we propose beginning with a brief account of them and their political relations with our Government, confining our attention to those situated within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, and excluding the States

which, like those in the Persian Gulf, or the Sind frontier, or at Aden, though outside those limits, are looked after by the Bombay authorities.*

The largest and wealthiest Native State in Western India is Baroda, and in these respects it is the most important, though it may be doubted whether the origin, history and political influence of his family entitle the Guicowar to be considered the premier Rajah of the Presidency. The founder of the dynasty being a Mahratta was, almost as a matter of course, a freebooter, who in the early part of the last century served under one Trimbuck Row Dhabary, the Senaputtee of the Mahratta Empire. After the Senaputtee's death his infant son was placed under the care of the Guicowar, who before long supplanted his master, and the family soon became possessed of a considerable portion of Guzerat, and grew so powerful that the Peshwah was obliged to acknowledge their position and treat them as allies, under feudal subordination. In the latter part of the century the English formed an alliance with the Guicowar which continued uninterrupted for many years, and in 1802 the reigning prince, Govind Rao, was enabled to overcome a rebellion excited against him by one of his relatives, and was firmly placed on the throne, by British intervention. In 1805 he was subsidized, according to the policy of the day, and gave up territory producing nearly 12 lakhs of rupees annually for the support of the subsidiary force. In 1817 the Peshwah signed a treaty with the British at Poona in which he gave up his suzerainty over the Guicowar, who thus became a sovereign prince, and this was followed by a supplemental treaty between the latter and the British Government making further arrangements and concessions for the subsidiary force, as well as stipulating for the maintenance of a body of 3,000 horse, known as the Guicowar's Contingent. It should be noted that the treaty of 1802, which was not abrogated by the subsequent engagements, gave the British Government, to use Mr. Aitchison's words,† "an almost unlimited power of interference in the internal Government of the Baroda State." Advantage was at first taken of the power thus given to an extent that caused much discontent and ill-feeling, but in 1820‡ the Government formally gave up this power conditionally, and of late the policy has been adopted of leaving the Guicowar to manage his territory as he likes and abstaining from interference. The present

* The Persian Gulf is not now under Bombay, we understand.

† Treaties, &c., vol. vi, p. 275, note.

‡ Aitchison's Treaties, p. 340. The British Government, however, stipulated that the Resident was to be kept acquainted with the financial

condition of the State and was to have access to the accounts. It was provided too, that though the Guicowar, was to choose his own minister, he was to consult the British Government before appointing him.

Guicowar, Mulhar Rao, succeeded to the *guddee* on the death of his brother Khunde Rao in 1870, and our readers will probably remember the excitement that prevailed when it was discovered that the widow of the deceased prince was pregnant, an excitement only allayed by the birth of a daughter—which event confirmed Mulhar Rao, who at the time of his brother's death had been for years an inmate of a prison, in the possession of the State of Baroda, with its population of several millions, and revenue of nearly a million and a half sterling.

Adjoining the Guicowar's territories are several groups of States, under the political supervision of the Agents in Kattywar, Rewa Kanta, Mahee Kanta, and Pahlunpoor, our relations with which are of a peculiar nature. These territories were inhabited by various more or less turbulent tribes who were ruled by semi-independent Rajpoot, Mussalman, or Kolee chieftains. From these the Guicowars, following the example set them by their Mahomedan predecessors, used to levy a tribute by a process termed "moolukgeeree," which consisted in sending an army first into one district and then into another to exact what the Mahrattas, with characteristic grim humour, called "ghas dana," or hay and grain for their horses, but which in reality meant whatever could be squeezed out of the chiefs and their subjects. As it was considered a point of honour to resist these demands as far as possible, and the Mahrattas were by no means soft-hearted campaigners, the misery thus occasioned was incalculable; and one of the first efforts of the Bombay Government, as soon as it had a little breathing time and felt its own position in some degree assured, was to put a stop to these practices. With this view a series of negotiations was carried on between 1808 and 1820 with the Guicowar, which resulted in the latter binding himself not to interfere with the chiefs in question, on condition of the British Government collecting from them and paying over to him certain fixed sums by way of their "ghas dana" or tribute. In the province of Kattywar this tribute had been levied for the Guicowar and the Peshwah jointly, and on the fall of the latter in 1817, we succeeded to his share which was larger than that of the Baroda State; but in the other provinces above referred to the "ghas dana" is levied for the Guicowar alone. As we became thus responsible for this tribute, and the chiefs if left to themselves would have indulged in anarchy and intestine feuds to an extent that would probably have necessitated "moolukgeeree" expeditions on our own account, the British Government was obliged to interfere in the several provinces in a much greater degree than was at first intended; but this interference has been attended with the happiest results in the pacification of the country and the amelioration of the habits and condition of its inhabitants. The area of the provinces under the several

agencies above enumerated is estimated at upwards of 40,000 square miles ; Kattywar is by far the largest of these, its area being 21,000 square miles. In it are five chiefs enjoying first class, and eight enjoying second class jurisdiction ; besides a whole* host of chiefs of minor importance, and the aggregate revenue of the province is supposed to exceed considerably a crore of rupees.

Next in importance to the Guicowar in the northern part of the Presidency, though of far higher lineage and of older standing as a regnant prince, comes the Rao of Kutch, the ruler of the peninsula to the west of Kattywar. He belongs to the Jharejas, a branch of the Samma tribe of Rajpoots, who are said to have emigrated from Sind to Kutch in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. In the following century Khengar, the ancestor of the present reigning family, received the title of Rao from the Mussalman King of Ahmedabad and was acknowledged as the ruler of Kutch. In 1809 our first treaty with Kutch was made, having for its objects the suppression of piracy and the exclusion from Kutch of all Europeans but the British. The first object, however, was not attained, and after a force had been sent to Kutch another treaty was concluded in 1816 in which the provisions of the former one were reiterated, and the British Government agreed for a consideration to reduce the Rao's subjects to his authority. When this was done the Government remitted not only its expenses but also the sum the Rao had agreed to pay, notwithstanding which the Kutch prince, so far from appreciating this generosity, acted in such a mad way towards his subjects and the British that the latter, at the invitation of the principal Jhareja chiefs, were obliged to interfere in 1819. The result of this interference was that the then reigning Rao was deposed, his son placed on the Musnud, and a new treaty concluded, which, besides renewing the provisions of former engagements, secured the location of a British force in Kutch, to be paid for by the State. In 1832, however, this treaty was modified by a new one in which all arrears was remitted and further arrangements made regarding the subsidiary force, for the maintenance of which, it was provided, never less than Rs. 88,000 were to be paid. The present ruler of Kutch is named Pragmuljee and succeeded to the *guddee* in 1860. The area of his dominions is estimated at upwards of 6,500 square miles, and the revenue is calculated to be about fifteen lakhs of rupees,† of which one-half is said to belong to the feudatory chiefs.

As we pass from the north towards the south of the Presidency,

* There are no less than 418 separate jurisdictions claimed in Kattywar.

† This is the estimate given by Mr. Aitchison in his *Treaties, &c.*, vol.

vi., p. 440. We believe, however, that the Kutch revenues considerably exceed this amount, and are, indeed, fully double of it.

we come across various petty chiefs, for the most part looked after by the Collectors in whose districts their possessions happen to be, regarding which it is not necessary to give any details here. Without pausing, therefore, by the way, we will proceed at once to the most important State in the southern portion of the Presidency of Bombay, *viz.*, Kolhapoor. The Rajah of this principality holds a very high place in native estimation, as, since the lapse of the Sattara raj, he is the sole descendant of the great Sivajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, and as such is the head of the Mahratta nation. Our readers are probably aware that after the death of Sivajee his two sons and their descendants quarrelled for pre-eminence, the question being at last decided in 1731 by a formal treaty, under the provisions of which Kolhapoor was acknowledged by the Rajah of Sattara (to use by anticipation the title afterwards held by the senior branch) as an independent principality to be governed by the younger branch of his family. The direct line of the founder Sivajee failed in the third generation, but was restored, according to Hindoo law and ideas, by the adoption of an heir from the nearest collateral branch of the family — a process which had to be repeated twice subsequently.

The British were first brought into contact with Kolhapoor in consequence of the piratical tendencies of part of its population. A commercial treaty was made with the State in 1765, which was superseded by another one in 1785. A more important treaty was negotiated with the Rajah in 1811, by which he ceded some forts to the British and in return was guaranteed against all foreign aggression. The Rajah stood loyally by the British during our war with the Peshwah and was rewarded by the grant of two districts that had long been a bone of contention in that part of the country; but the conduct of the prince who succeeded to the *guddee* in 1822, necessitated the resumption in 1827 of these two districts. Sir H. Lawrence has narrated in the pages of this *Review* the circumstances connected with the insurrection that happened after the death of the Rajah last referred to; and our readers doubtless remember how the late Rajah Rajaram went to England in 1870 and died at Florence while returning to India. He was succeeded by an adopted son, who received the name of the founder of the family Sivajee, and during his minority the State is administered by British officers. The area of Kolhapoor is upwards of 3,000 square miles, and "the aggregate revenues may be estimated at about 30 lakhs; but so numerous are the alienations of revenue that only 12 lakhs are collected on behalf of the State."*

* Bombay Administration Report. p. 152. We may in passing note the

To the south-west of Kolhapoor lies the State of Sawunt Warree, the turbulent nature of whose population has always caused it to give an amount of trouble utterly disproportioned to its size. Like Kolhapoor its addiction to piracy first brought it into contact with the British, the first treaty with whom was made in 1765. The treaty by which Sawunt Warree became a protected State was made in 1819, though other engagements have since been concluded. In 1838 the condition of the State was such that the British Government were obliged, with the consent of the Sir Dessai, as the chief is termed, to assume the management of the country, and even under their rule formidable insurrections had to be suppressed in 1839 and 1844. The area of Sawunt Warree is 900 square miles, and the revenue amounts to nearly 2½ lakhs. The present chief, Rughoonath Sawunt, who lately succeeded to the *guddee*, is quite a boy, being only about nine years of age.

On the other side of Kolhapoor lie the possessions of a number of first class Sirdars, known as the Chiefs of the Southern Mahratta country, who were Surinjamdars of the Peshwah, and retained their surinjams under the British on the fall of that prince; the horse contingent which they used to supply being now commuted into an annual money payment of upwards of half a lakh of rupees. To the north are the estates of the Sattara Jaghirdars, who held a similar position under the Rajah of Sattara, and on the lapse of that State came directly under the British Government. The Rajah of Akulkote, who was originally one of these jaghirdars, is now on a somewhat different footing, and being a minor, his estate is managed by a British officer.

The petty State of Junjeera, which lies to the south of Bombay, would hardly call for notice here, were it not for the action taken by the Chiefs who, in 1870, revolted against the Nawab, a descendant of the Siddee or Abyssinian Admirals of Beejapoor—a step which necessitated the interference of the British Government, and the assumption by them of the administration. The area of the State is only about 320 square miles, and the revenue is under two lakhs of rupees.

The policy adopted towards these several Chiefs has at times, as may have been seen even from the foregoing brief sketch, varied considerably. This was, perhaps, to be expected to some extent, but from all we can gather we apprehend that a change has been for some time taking place in the spirit in which the Political Department is administered in Bombay, a change too which strikes us as being by no means for the better.

For some time after the consolidation of our power in Western

able way in which the political chapter of this report has been drawn up most favourably with those issued of late years by the Bombay Government. The whole report, indeed, contrasts

India by the subversion of the Peshwah, the Political Department there may be said to have been at the zenith of its influence and estimation, as was natural under the circumstances, especially when such men as Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Malcolm, themselves trained politicals, were Governors. Then, and for a considerable time after, the department was officered by able men, both from the civil and military services, who were regarded by Government in the spirit which Dido engaged to show towards the Trojans and her own subjects.—

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

As time went on, however, and our rule became more firmly established, the Revenue Department began to be regarded as of paramount importance; and the civilians, as a rule, seemed to see a better opening in the regular work of their service and forsook the political line, to such an extent that, until two years ago, for a long period no member of the Civil Service, with the exception, if we are rightly informed, of the lamented Kinloch Forbes, and one or two less well-known men, has held a regular political appointment. It is true that many Collectors are termed Political Agents in consequence of having to look after one or more petty States in their collectorates; but they are not what we mean by political officers, nor are they likely to gain much experience from political work on such a small scale, and what is worse, regarded as a mere *παρεργον*—a by-work to be looked after in the rare intervals allowed by more important and pressing duties. The emoluments too of many of the political appointments were lowered, and this again tended to deter civilians from entering this department, and left it entirely in the hands of military officers. At first the effects of this change were not felt much, as there were enough civilians who had undergone some political training, to supply for a considerable time the offices of Member of Council and Secretary to Government with men of experience. In time, however, this generation passed away, and men succeeded to these important offices whose experience had been confined entirely to the Revenue and Judicial Departments, and who were consequently utterly unacquainted with all other branches of the public service.

It was hardly to be expected that a Government, the principal members of which, as well as the ministerial officers of the Political Department, were entirely devoid of experience in the affairs of that department, should manage it with the same skill and firmness as their more experienced predecessors, and there are not wanting those who profess to have observed for years past a decided change for the worse in the political administration of the Presidency. Such critics assert that the action of the Government in this department is too often characterized by irreso-

lution or vagueness, and that it is not unfrequently more or less inconsistent with the policy which both in this country and at home had received the sanction of the highest authorities. They profess to see traces of the limited training of the members of Government in what they consider narrow views, an undue respect for technicalities, and a premature impatience to see Native States assimilated to the British districts and governed by the same or exactly similar regulations.* To a man, they say, accustomed only to the apple-pie order of a British collectorate where everything is provided for by some Act or Regulation, the very best administered of Native States seems almost a chaos ; and similarly, one whose training has been solely judicial cannot conceive of a proper judicial administration without all the forms and technicalities to which use had given to his eyes almost the appearance of sanctity.

There is much of exaggeration and misapprehension doubtless in these criticisms, but they represent opinions that are not by any means losing ground. The Bombay Government, however, as was natural, has regarded itself and its actions in quite a different light, and with such satisfaction that its members determined not long ago to call in the aid of more civilians like themselves ; arguing apparently that as they, though inexperienced in political matters, had nevertheless managed that department with consummate skill, therefore political experience was absolutely non-essential ; that one civilian was as good as another, and by the mere fact of belonging to the Civil Service infinitely superior to any military political. Under the influence of some such reasoning they hit upon the notable scheme of subordinating all the political agencies to the Revenue Commissioners, and creating a new Commissionership (for the Civil Service) to aid in meeting this extra business. In this way the Government expected to have a great deal of troublesome work done for it by men of the favoured service who would look at things from the same point of view from which it regarded them. Those outside the charmed pale of the service who heard of this device, treated it with ridicule and asked what good would be derived from it by the public service ; professing themselves unable to see what connection there was between the Revenue Commissioners and the Political Department, any more than there was between the Commissioners and the Military Department. Those too who were not profoundly impressed with the political skill displayed by the

* On this side of India the Santhal insurrection and the Cossyah-Jhynteah war have demonstrated what fruit this impatience may bring forth. Had these tribes been left out of the regulations and kept under the control of political officers, as the Mhairs were under Dixon, the same happy results would probably have ensued as in Mhairwarra, and inglorious and costly wars would in all probability have been averted.

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members of the Government, distrusted still more the action that would be taken by the Commissioners, who, besides being inexperienced, would not have the records and traditions of the Secretariat to aid them; and many who had had experience of native intrigues observed that the main result of the new plan would be a vast extension of what is known as "khutput," and a considerable increase of bribery among subordinate officials. The political officers, who, however, were not consulted, were to a man opposed to the scheme; for they felt that much of their influence in Native States arises from their having the privilege of corresponding with Government direct, and foresaw that placing them under the Commissioners would deprive them of half their effective power, and we must acknowledge that there seems to us much force in these objections. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, whether expressed or understood, the scheme was actually sent home for the approval of the home authorities, by whom it was promptly negatived. Though thus rendered a *brutum fulmen*, the proposed change has not been without its ill effects on the Political Department in Bombay. It and other signs of the times have caused the military political officers, who hold, be it remembered, all the important appointments, to feel an uneasy consciousness that they are not altogether *en rapport* with the Government they serve. This feeling of course produces the idea that justice will not always be done to them and that their services will not be fairly appreciated, and there are some who cannot remember without dismay the extraordinary action of the Bombay Government a few years ago in suddenly suspending ignominiously one of the highest political officers in the Presidency, who was simply carrying out the policy that had for years been stamped with the continuous approval of the authorities both here and in England.* Again, the impression has got about that the Government intend ere long to get all the best paid appointments in the department filled by members of the Civil Service, to the exclusion of the military men, to whom are to be left only the inferior places. It is probable that such is not really the intention of the Government, but the impression nevertheless is widespread and is having its consequent effect on the *morale* of the military politicals. The latter disclaim, we are informed, all jealousy of the Civil Service and would hail its members as fellow-workers with them in the department. All that they ask is that fair play should be given to both services, and that the members of both should enter the department on equal terms, instead of the favoured service stepping in at the end and snatching the reward from those who have borne the heat and burden of the day.

* The action of the Bombay Government in this matter was disapproved by the Secretary of State for India, it is needless to say.

The late Governor of Bombay, if we are rightly informed, did much to lower the influence of the political officers. Coming straight to this country from England without any knowledge of India, and too vain to learn from others, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald could not see any difference between the position of a native chief and that of an English nobleman. He consequently argued that, as a Marquis of Hastings or Duke of Hamilton would be allowed to ruin himself and his estates without being interfered with by the Government at home, he did not see why a chief in India should not be allowed to do likewise. Acting on this theory he encouraged appeals from the chiefs and did his best to discredit the officers whose duty it was to look after them. We have heard on good authority that when chiefs, accompanied by the political officers accredited to their States, called at Government House, Sir Seymour not unfrequently gave audiences to the chief, for the discussion of his grievances, from which the political officers were excluded, though in the house; being left in the dark, moreover, as to the subjects discussed and the allegations made at the interview. As the correspondence in the matter has lately been published in the papers, we may refer to another instance which shows how the late Governor of Bombay delighted to set aside political officers and to assume the appearance of doing everything himself. In the province of Kattywar the institution of a court, like that in vogue in Rajpootana, for the settlement of international disputes and other matters had long been talked of, and not long ago steps were taken towards carrying the project into effect. Accordingly the Political Agent drew up a scheme which, however, did not give satisfaction to all concerned, so the wakeels and kamdars of the chiefs were summoned to Bombay, where at a series of interviews between them, the Governor, and the Acting Secretary in the Political Department, a scheme was drawn up which was afterwards communicated to the Agent in Kattywar.* Those who are better acquainted than we profess to be with the political affairs of the Western Presidency could doubtless adduce other instances of Sir Seymour's diplomacy and skill in setting the chiefs against their recognized advisers, as well as the pleasure he seemed to take in discrediting and lowering the influence of the officers who derived their authority from the Government of which

* Those unacquainted with the customs of Indian Courts will perhaps find some difficulty in understanding the full force of the instances given in the text. For the information of such persons we may observe that it has always been considered a *sine quâ non* that Political officers should be treated as enjoying

the full confidence of and completely identified with the Government that accredits them. A letter from the Viceroy is never sent to a Rajah without a copy being forwarded for the information of the Political at the latter's Court. It needs little reflection to see the necessity of this.

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he was the head, and to the maintenance of whose influence the full confidence and open support of Government are indispensable—but we do not care to follow this subject further.

One great obstacle to the proper administration of the Political Department in Bombay is that it has not a Secretary to itself, for the Secretary to Government in that department has also permanent charge of the Secret, Educational and Judicial Departments; and when we consider the daily increasing attention paid to the last two branches of public affairs, and the fact that the Under-Secretary, besides assisting in these departments, is also Secretary to the Legislative Council, it speaks volumes in favour of the officers of the Secretariat that so much is done and so satisfactorily. Able as these officers, however, unquestionably are, their powers being human, are but limited, and we mean no slight to the Political Secretary to the Bombay Government when we say that the Political Department would be better looked after if his attention were confined to its duties. It was remarked, we understand, by some of the members of the Foreign Office, on their late visit to Bombay, that due regard was not always paid there to the ceremonials on which native princes lay such stress, and which, therefore, are so important; and this, doubtless, was owing to the press of work in the Secretariat which induced the officials to postpone the consideration of such matters to what was in their eyes of superior importance. However this may be, there can be little doubt that the Political Department in Bombay requires a special channel of communication between it and Government, and so long as the Secretary has to divide his attention between that department and two or three others, the political administration cannot be considered to be on a proper footing.

We would ourselves, however, advocate a still greater change. We think for many reasons that it would be for the public advantage to do away with a separate Political Department in Bombay and place the Rajahs and Chiefs, except, perhaps, the petty ones now under the collectors, under the direct control of the Foreign Office. Political relations with Native Chiefs form a subject more suited to the consideration of the Supreme than to that of a Local Government, and the adoption of the step we recommend would introduce a uniformity of policy throughout the country that is much to be desired. Where the authorities of a Presidency have to deal with a number of chiefs, among whom one towers above the rest by the extent of his possessions and the amount of his wealth, they are apt to think rather too much about the big man, and to invest him with a somewhat undue importance; and this has been the case, we are inclined to think, with the Bombay Government and the Guicowar. The Foreign Office, however, having under it several princes equal in wealth and

superior in importance to the Guicowar, would probably take a juster view of the position of the latter, and would see more clearly the policy to be adopted, and having a larger field of view would also appraise more correctly the standing of the other Rajahs and Sirdars of the Presidency. This suggestion of ours is a natural inference from the line we took in the earlier part of this article. We there deprecated the interposition of intermediate authorities between Political Agents and Government, and what we now propose is to carry out the principle therein implied still further. Under the present system all important questions have to go on to the Government of India, and it would not be such a great change to let these questions go direct to the finally-deciding authority, thereby saving much time, and, what is of still greater importance, doing away with much opportunity for intrigue; for no one who knows anything of India can be ignorant that the more numerous the stages are through which a communication from a political officer has to pass before reaching the highest authority, the greater are the facilities afforded for bribery and undue influence among the underlings of the various offices. Then again the Government of India generally numbers among its members one statesman, if not more, as distinguished from mere able administrators who are not at all uncommon in India, and it would be a decided advantage to have the political administration of the whole country under the direct influence of such a man, for what is wanted more than anything in India is statesmanship. The step we advocate, too, would check jobbery, and had it been adopted two years ago, we should have been spared the sight of a departing Governor appointing to a high post in the Political Department his own son, a gentleman whose experience of the East was confined to what he picked up during the few years he acted as Private Secretary to his father. It should not be forgotten also that the recent comparative financial decentralization of India has given extra work to the Bombay Government, and as the proclivities of that Government have always been to revenue and judicial in preference to political work, the arrangement we propose would leave it at liberty to devote attention to its favourite subjects undisturbed.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that such a change as that we recommend will be speedily brought about, though we consider that it must in time take place. A step, indeed, has been taken in this direction by the Bombay Government spontaneously relinquishing the control over the affairs in the Persian Gulf, which hitherto had been vested in it on the ground of its proximity to the scene of action. In the meantime the present able and high-minded Governor of Bombay may be fairly trusted to do of himself what is just and right as soon as he has gained sufficient experience of the country to

enable him to form his own judgment independently. We do not in the least disparage the abilities or uprightness of his official advisers, but we cannot help feeling that His Excellency is more qualified to take an impartial and statesmanlike view of matters than the members of a special service, whose training has been limited to certain branches of the public service to the exclusion of others not, perhaps, less important. We would earnestly, too, deprecate any action likely to tend, or even seem to tend, towards the detriment of men who have done and are still doing good work, which being but little known meets with but little public appreciation. The brilliant days of Indian diplomacy are over. In the early part of the present century, when we were struggling for our position, the political occasionally had it in his power to materially aid the Government he served by the negotiation of some treaty that strengthened our hold of the country, or by persuading some chief, whose defection would have shaken our power, to remain staunch to his engagements. The services of such men were appreciable by all, even by those most ignorant of Indian affairs; but the task of Indian politicals, and the estimation in which they are held, are very different now, yet we hold that their present duties are hardly less important. It is no longer theirs to effect brilliant *coups-de-main* and to perform magnificent feats of diplomacy that all can see and admire. Their task is a more humble one and less distinguished. They seldom now have to hold back a wavering chief for swerving from the paths of loyalty, but they have to aid the princes of this country to fight against the faults too often inherent in them. A Rajah is but too apt to have an overweening sense of his own dignity and position and to have but little thought for those placed under him, or to consider them merely as the instruments appointed by fate to fill his coffers; and the popular idea of a native of high rank as a being immersed in and wholly devoted to sensuality is but too frequently justified by facts. It is no easy and no ignoble task to rouse such men from their besotted infatuation, and to demonstrate to them, as well as to their compeers less grovelling in tastes perhaps, but equally prejudiced, that their truest interest is to consult the real welfare of their subjects; and to point out the spirit, and many of the institutions, of the British administration without advocating a servile imitation of the latter. We are far from recommending what Lord Elgin, in one of his letters, calls a "prurient interference" with the internal affairs of Native States; but we have a duty as the paramount power, and if we preserve those States from all peril of intestine conflict, we have a right in turn to call on them to abstain at least from such misgovernment as would but for our presence drive their subjects to rebellion. A judicious political officer at a native prince's court by keeping a

watchful eye on what goes on in the State, and letting it be known that he does so, may do much to check oppression without overt action ; but in every step tact is required, and even tact is of little use without some experience. A man devoid of this necessary element is apt to fall into one of two errors, viz., either allowing himself to be hoodwinked, and allowing matters to go too far from ignorance how to act, or being too peremptory and expecting too much from the chief to whom he is accredited. Action, action, action, was Demosthenes' *sine quâ non* for an orator, and we would urge with equal impressiveness the necessity of experience to a political officer, if but for the reason that without it the ablest of men must be too much dependent on the aid of his subordinates. Native princes must be humoured to a certain extent, but must never be allowed to forget that there is a paramount power in India ; and to keep to the golden mean in dealing with them is no easy matter, undue laxity often leading to internal confusion and misgovernment, while the opposite course leads to a sullen surface submission that may be productive of most evil consequences. Under these circumstances the task of political officers is no easy one, and it is one of the misfortunes of their position that often their very success tends to make their services less appreciated. Every one can see and applaud a man who is publicly battling for the right in open conflict ; but where a man, by judicious advice and the exercise of personal influence, has brought about an improvement in the government of a Native State, how few know of the improvement, and how far fewer of those who do attribute the change to him who deserves at least some of the credit. Every one hears of a turbulent State, while those whose condition is otherwise are but too often passed over unnoticed ; and these remarks apply in a great measure to the Bombay political officers, for the work they have done is, we believe, unsurpassed in any part of India. The chiefs and peoples they have had to deal with were not many years ago as wild and uncivilized in many cases as were to be found to the south of the Himalayas, while the little that is heard of them now shows how different their condition has become—a condition that will contrast most favourably with that of any of the native chiefs and their subjects, in either of the other Presidencies. *Sic vos non vobis* must be often the motto of those who work in the Political Department.

What the outside public, however, have no means of knowing the Government must from its position be acquainted with, and it abdicates one of its chief functions if it passes over without due recognition services that deserve notice. Especially too does it fail in its duties if it neglects to accord to its agents with native chiefs (whatever Service they may belong to) the fullest and most open confidence, and that not only publicly but privately. A

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formal expression of satisfaction in a Government Resolution does little to strengthen the hands of an officer if the members of Government show in various ways that he does not possess their full confidence; and it should be remembered that there are few natives of rank who have not agents about those in high office, whose business it is to ascertain and report to their employers the supposed real sentiments of such officials. We would add too that, if a Government wishes its agents at native courts to carry out vigorously a definite line of policy, it must give instructions accordingly, and make its agents feel assured of support.

ART. V.—JOSEPH MAZZINI.—(*Independent Section.*)

The Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini. Six Vols. Smith, Elder and Co. London, 1864.

IN that charming description of himself which is prefixed to the second volume of his *Pensées*, Joubert mentions that if he had a one-eyed friend he always made a point of avoiding the sight of the deformity by looking at him only in profile. There is much to be said for the spirit of loving criticism suggested by this remark; it is indeed an essential element of all true criticism—but with one proviso—that the attitude of devoted, unquestioning admiration be only temporary. As long as we are learning from a teacher, it is highly desirable, if he be a really great teacher and if we are to learn much from him, it is almost necessary that we should bow down before him with implicit obedience, and follow, doubting nothing, whithersoever he may lead us, and by whatsoever path. As Jean-Jacques has told us:—

‘En lisant chaque auteur, je me fis une loi d’adopter et suivre toutes ses idées sans y mêler les miennes ni celles d’un autre, et sans jamais disputer avec lui. Je me dis : Commençons par me faire un magasin d’idées, vraies ou fausses, mais nettes, en attendant que ma tête en soit assez fournie pour pouvoir les comparer et choisir.’

Such is the truest and most fruitful mental attitude in the presence of a great, informing mind; but it cannot be a permanent one. The time must come, it may be after weeks or months or years, when the vein of thought into which our spiritual master for the time being has introduced us shall be worked out, and we shall have learnt all that he can teach us, all that he has to offer which our own minds are capable of assimilating. When that time has come, the posture of devout submission must be changed for that of clear, unbiased, though grateful criticism. We must take stock of what we have derived from our late teacher but present fellow-pupil in the school of the universe, and see how much of it is absolute truth and a possession for ever, and how much incidental, personal, transient.

The great advantage of such a method is that any system of whatever kind—religious, philosophical, political—which we have thus studied, even after we have outgrown and can look back upon it as only a phase of thought or faith, remains as a part of ourselves, of our consciousness, of our past history; we know what it looks like when seen from within as well as from without, have been believers as well as critics. There can be little doubt that the mental experience of a thinker who had adopted such a method through

life would be far richer, deeper, and more valuable than that of one who had contented himself with merely studying from without the various systems of thought which had come in his way. It was in such a spirit, to quote one illustrious example, that Sainte Beuve lent himself to the Catholic Reaction which appeared to him to be the central current of the thought of Europe in his earlier days.

The best path to knowledge, however, is by no means always the easiest; and the price which we have to pay for this method is the pain of detaching ourselves at last from the teacher or system we have followed so long and faithfully. The teachers, moreover, are few on whom we can look back from the independent standpoint, with anything like the old habitual faith and admiration. Too often does the recollection of the once trusted guide on whom we pinned our faith so securely, or the scheme of philosophy which once seemed so self-evident and so all embracing, create, as we look back on it in after years, no other feeling than that of pensive amusement. None but the very greatest masters can command from the emancipated disciple the same measure of reverence which was unquestioningly awarded by the uncritical and enthusiastic pupil. One such teacher has recently passed from amongst us, and of his life and writings it is the purpose of this paper to attempt some slight account.

I.

Joseph Mazzini was born at Genoa, where his father was a respectable physician, in the year 1808. With a modesty characteristic of the man but almost to be regretted by his admirers, he persistently declined to write the story of his life, except so far as it was strictly connected with the political events in which he took a part. Save to his own immediate friends, therefore, little is known of his history till the year 1827, when his literary career began by the appearance in the *Subalpino* Review of an article on Dante. He warmly espoused the side of the Romanticists in the literary warfare which they were then waging against the Classicists; but even then, as in after life, he showed that reverence for true order and true law which, combined with passionate abhorrence of wrongful law and tyranny, must always characterize the really great revolutionary leader. He was repelled, as he tells us, by the anarchy which prevailed in the camp and writings of his own party, who were, indeed 'intolerant of every tyranny, but ignorant also of the sacredness of the law which governs art as well as every other thing.'

'And it is a part of this law,' he continues, 'that all true art must either sum up and express the life of a closing epoch, or announce and proclaim the life of the epoch destined to succeed it. . . Amongst us Italians no other than the prophetic form of art was possible.'

Art could only arise amongst us to inscribe a maledictory epitaph upon the last three centuries, and sing the canticle of the future . . . But to do this, the special bias and tendency of individual inspiration required to be nourished by the aspiration of the collective life of Italy. . . but the collective life of Italy was uncertain and indefinite ; it lacked a centre, oneness of ideal, and all regular and organized mode of manifestation. Art, therefore, could only reveal itself among us by fits, in isolated and volcanic outbursts. . . Without a country, and without liberty, we might perhaps produce some prophets of art, but no vital art.'

These considerations determined Mazzini to abandon the idea of a literary career, towards which the natural bias of his own mind strongly inclined him, and to devote himself to the political problem of the Unity and freedom of Italy. This, he tells us, was his first great sacrifice. The only weapon, however, of a revolutionist in those days was his pen, and Mazzini employed his in writing brief descriptions of books for sale, which he induced the editor of a commercial magazine, the *Indicatore Genovese*, to admit into his columns as advertisements. By slow degrees the advertisements grew into articles, and the *Indicatore* became a literary and finally a political paper, and as such was suppressed by the Sardinian Government. Its publication, however, was carried on at Leghorn, under the title of the *Indicatore Livornese*, until it was again stopped by the Government of Tuscany.

It was in these days that Mazzini was initiated into the Order of the Carbonari, an association which he was induced to join, not by admiration of the 'complex symbolism, the hierarchical mysteries, or the political faith, or rather the absence of all political faith' by which it was characterized ; but because he was not then in a position to originate a society on his own principles, and because he found the Carbonari to be a 'body of men in whom, however inferior they were to the idea they represented, thought and action, faith and works, were identical.'

'And,' he continues, 'now that my hair is grey, I still believe that next to the capacity of rightly leading, the greatest merit consists in knowing how and when to follow ;'—a remark of which the appreciation was never more needed than now among that large class who sacrifice at the shrine of their own individuality the power for good which they might acquire by collective action.

Before joining the Carbonari, Mazzini had not, as we perceive, formed any extravagant estimate of their pretensions ; but after initiation he found their besetting sins to be irrational distrust of Italy, and blind confidence in France, or, as they themselves called it, Cosmopolitanism. His connection with the order does not seem to have been very close, but he was betrayed to the Government by a spy whom he had initiated, and confined for some months in the

fortress of Savona—while the only answer which his afflicted father could obtain from the Governor of Genoa was that his son was ‘a young man of talent, very fond of solitary walks by night and habitually silent as to the subject of his meditations, and that the Government was not fond of young men of talent the subject of whose musings was unknown to it.’

Here, in his narrow cell, from which nothing could be seen but sea and sky, with no books but a Bible, a Tacitus, and a Byron, and no living companion but a *lucherino* or greenfinch, lonely reflection convinced him that Carbonarism was powerless, and that ‘instead of wasting time and energy in the endeavour to galvanize a corpse, it would be better to address himself to the living, and seek to found a new edifice upon a new basis.’ The result of this conviction was the Association of Young Italy.

His hopes were not confined to the awakening from her trance of Italy alone; he was animated by a presentiment that ‘regenerate Italy was destined to arise the initiatrix of a new life and a new and powerful Unity to all the nations of Europe.’ He saw that ‘authority—true, righteous, and holy authority—the search after which, whether conscious or not, is in fact the secret of our human life,’ was extinct in Europe, and that therefore the initiative power was no longer possessed by any European nation.

‘The worship of Rome,’ he writes, ‘was a part of my being. The great Unity, the one Life of the world had twice been elaborated within her walls. . . To none save her had it been given twice to guide and direct the world. . . Why should not a new Rome, the Rome of the Italian people — portents of whose coming I deemed I saw — arise to create a third and still vaster unity; to link together and harmonise earth and heaven, right and duty; and to utter, not to individuals but to peoples, the great word Association.’

Such were the musings in his prison at Savona of the founder of Young Italy, the Society to whose efforts it is mainly due that even such progress as Italy has already made has been possible.

After some months of detention Mazzini was acquitted by the Senate, but was ordered by Carlo Felice, the then King, either to leave Italy, or to reside in some small town in the interior. He chose the former alternative, and after parting from his father (whom he never saw again) and his mother, passed through Savoy to Geneva. Here he met Sismondi, with whom, though attracted by his courtesy and amiability, he was evidently disappointed, and of whom he writes:—

‘His intellectual grasp did not go beyond the doctrine of rights, and its only logical consequence, liberty. Moreover, his personal friendship for the leaders of the *doctrinaire* school—Cousin, Guizot, and Villemain—evidently clouded his judgment both of men and

things. He had become imbued with Federalism, which he preached as the ideal of political organization to the many Italian exiles by whom he was surrounded, and who all drew their ideas and inspiration from his lips. There was not a single man among them who dreamed of the possibility, or even the desirability of Unity.'

From Geneva Mazzini passed on to Lyons, where a number of Italian exiles had congregated with a view to a projected invasion of Savoy, which was at first tolerated, but afterwards crushed by the Government of Louis Philippe. Many of the refugees were hunted down, but Mazzini with a few others escaped to Corsica, intending from thence to assist the insurrection in Central Italy, which, however, owing to various delays, was put down by the Austrian Government before their measures could be matured; and he gained nothing by this movement except a favourable impression of the Corsican character. Hopes of action being at an end, Mazzini returned to Marseilles, whence, in 1831, he wrote his celebrated letter to Charles Albert, the conspirator king, who had been a Carbonaro in 1820, and from whose accession in consequence the liberal party in Italy expected much. Mazzini did not himself share these expectations, but he wrote the letter because he found that the hopes entertained of the king interfered with his cherished design of organizing the Society of Young Italy, and was anxious to raise a decisive issue which might be speedily solved. This letter reminds the king of the high hopes aroused in the mind of liberal Italy by the accession to power of the man of 1821, and assures him that there are but two paths open to him, a system of terror, and a system of concessions. He is warned of the danger of the first—'Blood calls for blood, and the dagger of the conspirator is never so terrible as when sharpened on the tombstone of the martyr;' and reminded that the latter would prove abortive unless accompanied by a guarantee of fixed institutions, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the people; 'the people are no longer to be quieted by a few concessions. . . They have drained the cup of slavery to the dregs, but they have sworn never to fill it again.' The king, it is added, may, if he fails in his duty, retard, though neither he nor anything else can prevent the fulfilment of the destiny of Italy; and the letter concludes with the words—'Sire, I have spoken to you the truth. The men of freedom await your answer in your deeds. Whatever that answer be, rest assured that posterity will either hail your name as that of the greatest of men, or the last of Italian tyrants. Take your choice.'

The reply was a decree of perpetual banishment against the writer; and Mazzini, hardening his heart, and the hearts of others, against the monarchical principle, founded at Marseilles the Association of Young Italy, and drew up rules for the guidance of

its members. The constituent ideas of this society, and the watchwords inscribed upon its banner of red, white, and green were 'Liberty, Equality, Humanity, Independence, Unity;' and its members were described as 'a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of Progress and Duty,' and are convinced that Italy is destined, and has sufficient intrinsic strength to become one nation. The principles of the society were Republican and Unitarian (as opposed to Federalist); Republican, because the Republic is the only form of government which logically embodies the ruling idea of our age, Association, because there were no monarchical elements in Italy, neither a powerful and respected aristocracy, nor a royal dynasty endeared to the people by glory or past services; and because the traditional glories of Italy were Republican;—and Unitarian, because 'without Unity of religious belief and social fact, of civil, political, and penal legislation, there is no true nation.' 'Both initiators and initiated must never forget that the moral application of every principle is the first and most essential . . . and that Young Italy must be neither a sect nor a party, but a faith and an apostolate.' The means to be adopted by the society for the realisation of its aims were education and insurrection, to be adopted simultaneously and made to harmonize. A distinction is drawn between the period of insurrection and that of revolution. 'The revolution begins as soon as the insurrection is triumphant.' To descend from the speculative to the financial part of the society's programme, the monthly contribution of each member was fixed at minimum of 50 centimes, but all who could afford to pay more were to do so. Such is a brief outline of the constitution of Young Italy, whose foundation 'closed the period of political sects, and initiated that of educational associations.'

To the journal published by the society Mazzini was the chief contributor, but his articles were for the most part of too exclusively an Italian interest to be quoted here. It was but for a short time, however, that he was left unmolested; and this time it was by a decree of the French Government of August 1832 that he was banished from France. Being unwilling to abandon the system of communication which had been organised between Marseilles and Italy, he stayed on in concealment, notwithstanding the decree, for twelve months, writing, corresponding, and holding interviews.

It was at this period that the absurd and groundless slander of having procured the assassination of one Emilian, an ex-groom to the Duke of Modena, was circulated against Mazzini in the *Moniteur*.

The calumny was so utterly baseless, and has been so conclusively refuted, that there is no need to discuss it here. It would

probably never have been heard of in England, had not Sir James Graham revived it in the House of Commons in 1845, and so tenacious is a slander; once promulgated, of life, that although he was compelled to make a public apology, we believe there are still a large number of worthy people whose only idea of Mazzini is that of an assassin and a man of blood; a misconception which would be ludicrous, were it not painful, to any one who has ever read half-a-dozen pages of his writings.

While still in hiding at Marseilles, Mazzini published, in the journal of Young Italy, 'Thoughts addressed to the Priests of Italy,' a kind of sequel to which appeared thirty-seven years afterwards in the *Fortnightly Review* for June 1870, under the head of a 'Letter to the members of the Œcumenical Council, (which latter, we may remark *en passant*, is, even through the veil of a translation, the most perfect combination of imaginative eloquence, rigorous logic, and impassioned, because sincere, denunciation, that we have ever met with in the English language). The chief characteristic of the earlier paper is the passionate, almost affectionate, tone in which it adjures the Italian priesthood to put themselves at the head of the national movement, and to lead the people in the path of freedom. It was an appeal 'from the Pope to the Council;' its sequel, 'from the Council to God.'

Meanwhile, the power of the society had been rapidly increasing, especially in Lombardy, the Genoese territory, Tuscany, and the States of the Church; and prompt action against Austria was decided on. Mazzini decided that the revolution should begin in the Sardinian States, and Genoa and Alexandria were fixed on as the centres of the movement. Before leaving Marseilles for Genoa in order to organize the invasion of Savoy, Mazzini was anxious to come to an understanding with the French Republicans, Cavaignac and the party of the *Tribune*, Carrel and that of the *National*. Carrel came to Marseilles at his request, and it is interesting to compare the impression he made on Mazzini with that recorded in Mr. Mill's able article on the same man. The judgment of the Positivist is naturally more favourable to Carrel than that of the Idealist; yet Mazzini speaks of him in very high terms. He had the same quarrel with him as with Sismondi, that he had not advanced beyond the doctrine of rights, with its logical consequences, individualism and federalism. 'His intellect, acute and analytic rather than vast, had been educated in the materialist school. . . . He understood many of the aspirations of the age, but only *felt* the aspiration after liberty. Carrel's ideal was the Republic, such as it exists in America where the individual is sovereign and personal right is supreme, but where the social mission of the governing power is ill understood. Beyond that ideal he was unwilling to look, and all social questions terrified him.'

Mazzini describes him as—

‘A man of aristocratic bearing, cold in appearance, but very capable of energy when required. Unmistakeably honest, he was one whose word inspired absolute confidence. He was more attached to the Republic than to the Republicans. . . . He died in the breach, a Republican as he had lived, free from all base motives, from all immorality, or servile desire of wealth and power, loved by the few who knew him intimately, and respected even by his enemies.

It was agreed between them that if the movement in Italy succeeded, Carrel should unite with Cavaignac in helping forward the revolution in Paris and Lyons. But the movement in Italy did not succeed. Its existence was betrayed to the Government by some rash word spoken in a quarrel between two artillerymen, one of whom was a member of the Association ; and then came arrests, and imprisonments, and artifices of every kind to make the conspirators betray one another, in too many cases with success. Numerous executions followed rapidly on what were practically mock trials. Mazzini himself, though beyond the reach of the Government, was condemned to death. Jacopo Ruffini, his earliest and most devoted friend, to whom he was passionately attached, committed suicide in prison to avoid the stratagems practised by his jailors to induce him to divulge the names of his associates. The hopes of the leaders of Young Italy were dashed by this reverse, but by no means crushed, for they almost immediately began a second attempt on Savoy through Switzerland. The history of this movement is too complex to follow in detail here ; suffice it to say that it failed through the treachery of Ramorino, one of those Cosmopolitan soldiers of democracy who have been created by the cycle of European revolutions during the last fifty years, and to whom, contrary to the wishes of Mazzini, the conduct of the enterprise was entrusted.

Thus the first period of Young Italy ended in a defeat.

Failure was followed by persecution. From France, from Naples, from Russia, from Austria, came a shower of diplomatic notes demanding the expulsion of the exiles. Many were seized, and sent to England and America. Some sheltered themselves in villages under feigned names. Mazzini, with three friends, left Geneva, and remained for a time concealed in Lausanne, and afterwards, more openly, at Berne ; where, in April 1834, eighteen of the refugees, Poles, Germans, and Italians, met together to draw up a ‘Pact of Fraternity,’ as the basis of the ‘Society of Young Europe’ which was intended to be to the liberal party of Europe, what Young Italy was to the Italian liberals. Its principles, like those of Young Italy, were primarily religious, and only secondarily political ; and its object was to organize a Republican federation throughout

Europe, so that any nation arising in insurrection might at once find others ready to assist it. Vast as was the design, Mazzini, its author, knew that no immediate practical results could be expected from it. His only aim was 'to constitute an apostolate of ideas different from those then current, and to leave them to bear fruit how and where they might.'

While at Berne, Mazzini was in correspondence with Lamennais, who, to his great regret, had expressed the conviction that Italy was too feeble to work out her own salvation from the Austrian, and whom he eloquently entreats to reconsider that opinion, and not to judge of the future of Italy by her past.

The growing influence of Mazzini and his party at Berne attracted the notice of the French Government; and the Duke of Montebello, minister of that Louis Philippe who had himself been sheltered in Switzerland during his misfortunes, rudely informed the central Government that if Switzerland did not cease all toleration of the 'incorrigible enemies of the repose of Governments, France would take the matter into her own hands'. Under this pressure the Swiss Government, which had previously faltered, gave way altogether, and by an order of the Diet in 1836, Mazzini was condemned to perpetual exile from Switzerland. He remained for a time, in spite of this decree, but finally made his way to London, where he arrived in January 1837. His last months in Switzerland and his first in London were perhaps the most painful period of his life. — In London he was homeless, friendless, and, for a time, almost penniless. But in Switzerland he knew the greater bitterness of overwhelming spiritual doubt. There he underwent that exquisitely painful experience which, soon or late, comes to most men devoted to an idea, the agonising suspicion that the world might after all be right, and himself wrong; that the cause for which he had sacrificed home, country, friends, and all hopes of individual happiness might be an illusion; that, led away by visionary enthusiasm, he might have neglected the duties that lay at his hand, and sacrificed in a hopeless struggle the lives of many brave men; that the Unity and freedom of Republican Italy might indeed be after all an impracticable dream. The last drop in this bitter cup was the consciousness that the purity of his motives and their freedom from personal ambition were suspected by the two or three intimate friends who had clung to him through past trials. His mental sufferings at this time drove him to the verge of madness. But when he did emerge from the fiery trial it was with a retempered soul, for ever lifted above all doubt or questioning of the truth of the cause to which his whole life was one long sacrifice. It is more particularly from this period that one can trace that *impersonality*, that absolute incapacity for being swayed by the ordinary temptations of ease or pleasure or gain, and that utter,

almost superhuman, disregard for his own individual happiness, which characterised him in a degree only paralleled in the lives of the greatest mediæval saints. To quote his own words :

‘One morning I awoke to find my mind tranquil and my spirit calmed, as one who has passed through a great danger. The first moment of waking had always been one of great wretchedness with me ; it was a return to an existence of little other than suffering, and during those months of which I have spoken, that first moment had been, as it were, a summing up of all the unutterable misery I should have to go through during the day. But on that morning it seemed as if nature smiled a smile of consolation upon me, and the light of day appeared to bless and revive the life in my weary frame. The first thought that passed across my spirit was : *your sufferings are the temptation of egotism and arise from a misconception of life.* I set myself to re-examine—now that I could do so calmly—both myself and surrounding things. I rebuilt my entire edifice of moral philosophy. . . . Christianity had defined life as expiation. . . . The Materialism of the eighteenth century had gone back two thousand years to repeat the definition of life as a search after happiness. . . . I perceived that although every instinct of my soul rebelled against that fatal and ignoble definition, yet I had not completely freed myself from the dominating influence exercised by it upon the age, and tacitly nourished in me by my early French studies, and by the admiration I felt for those who had preached that doctrine. . . . I had combated the evil in others, but not sufficiently in myself. In my own case, and as if the better to seduce me, that false definition of life had thrown off every baser stamp of material desires, and had centred itself in the affections as in an inviolable sanctuary. I ought to have regarded them as a blessing of God, to be accepted with gratitude wherever it descended to irradiate or cheer my existence, not demanded them as a right or a reward. I had unconsciously made of them the condition of the fulfilment of my duties. I had been unable to realise the true ideal of love, love without earthly hope, and had unknowingly worshipped, not love itself, but the joys of love. When these vanished, I had despaired of all things ; as if the joys and sorrows I encountered on the path of life could alter the aim I had aspired to reach ; as if the darkness or serenity of Heaven could change the purpose or necessity of the journey. Life is a mission. . . . Every existence is an aim, and that aim is *one*, to develop and bring into action all the faculties which constitute and lie dormant in Humanity, and cause them harmoniously to combine towards the discovery and application of the law of life. . . . Life is a mission ; duty, therefore, its highest law. In the comprehension of that mission and fulfilment of that duty lie our means of future

progress, the secret of the stage of existence into which we shall be initiated at the conclusion of this earthly stage. I bade a long sad farewell to all individual hopes for me on earth. I dug with my own hands the grave, not of my affections—God is my witness that now, greyheaded, I feel them yet as in the days of my earliest youth—but of all the desires, exigencies, ineffable comforts of affection; and I covered the earth over that grave, so that none might ever know the *ego* buried underneath.'

Never again did he waver one hair's breadth from the path of duty.

The record of his life in London is sad enough. There is a touching pathos, for him who has eyes to see it, in the few and simple details which he gives of the straits to which he was at first reduced by poverty; but space fails us, and we must leave them untouched on. His days were chiefly occupied in literary work and continental correspondence; but he found time to do a great deal, in a quiet, unostentatious way, to alleviate the condition of the poorer Italians in London, and especially of the unhappy organ boys, who had been induced by false representations to leave their homes. He established a gratuitous night school for these lads in Hatton Garden, which was open from 1841—48. The teaching was carried on by himself, with a few educated Italians and a few working men, all of whom were poor, and all unpaid. The priests of the Sardinian Chapel vigorously opposed this work, but their efforts proving unavailing, they were reduced to opening a school of their own in the same street. An association of Italian working men was also formed by Mazzini, and a journal called the *Apostolato Popolare* (in which the 'Duties of Man' first appeared), was published.

In 1844 occurred the incident, so disgraceful to the Peel ministry in general, and the Home Secretary in particular, of the opening of Mazzini's letters, with a view to informing the Austrian Government of their contents. It was this affair which first brought him into public notice in England, and elicited a letter to the *Times* from Mr. Carlyle, in which the latter, while characteristically declaring his willing ignorance of 'Italian democracies and Young Italy's sorrow, of extraneous Austrian Emperors in Milan, or poor old chimerical popes at Bologna,' thus writes:—'I have had the honour to know M. Mazzini for a series of years; and whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if ever I have seen such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind, one of those rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls; who in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practise what is meant by that.'

Higher or more emphatic testimony from one of such diametrically opposite modes of thought, it would be difficult to imagine.

Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, better known as 'honest Tom Duncombe,' was the man to whom Mazzini entrusted his case. An enquiry was demanded in the House, and great indignation resulted; from which Sir James Graham attempted to shelter himself, partly by appealing to an obsolete Act of Parliament, partly by the calumny for which, as already related, he was obliged to make a public apology. This affair induced Mazzini to write a letter to Sir James Graham, entitled 'Italy, Austria, and the Pope,' in which, to save the Government the trouble of opening his letters in future, he openly stated his ideas and policy on the Italian question.

During the ten years that he passed in England, Mazzini learnt to love her as a second country. Though he was far from blind to our faults, there is always a certain touch of tenderness underlying even his occasional denunciations of the many sins, chiefly of omission, chargeable against England by liberals, and especials by all continental liberals. He had more, and more devotedly attached, friends in England than in any of the other countries in which his life of exile was passed: more, perhaps, than even in his own Italy.

His stay in England, which would for most men have been a period of unusual activity, but was for him, comparatively speaking, one of pause, was terminated, or rather interrupted, by the great events in Italy of 1848-49. We can only mention the war of Charles Albert with Austria, and the Republican war with Austria and France, the first so shameful, the latter so noble, but inevitably destined to defeat by the cowardice and blunders of the monarchy that preceded it. It was then that the life of Mazzini culminated in those three glorious months from the 29th March to the 30th June 1849, during which he was the guiding spirit of Rome, of Rome in her hour of supreme struggle, though not of triumph.

'Rome,' he writes, 'was the dream of my young years; the generating idea of my mental conception; the keystone of my intellectual edifice; the religion of my soul; and I entered the city one evening early in March with a deep sense of awe, almost of worship. Rome was to me, as in spite of her present degradation she still is, the temple of Humanity. From Rome will one day spring the religious transformation destined for the third time to bestow moral unity upon Europe. I had journeyed towards the sacred city with a heart sick unto death from the defeat of Lombardy, the new deception I had met with in Tuscany, and the dismemberment of our Republican party over the whole of Italy. Yet, nevertheless, as I passed through the *Porta del Popolo*, I felt an electric thrill run through me, a spring of new life. I shall

never see Rome more ; but the memory of her will mingle with my dying thought of God and my best beloved ; and wheresoever fate may lay my bones, I believe they will know once more the thrill that ran through me then, on the day when the republican banner shall be planted in pledge of the unity of our Italy upon the Vatican and Capitol.'

Before his arrival he had been elected a Deputy, and on March 29th was chosen Triumvir, with Saffi and Arminelli as his colleagues. Then followed the greatest political crime ever committed by a nation calling itself liberal and republican, the murder of the Roman Republic by republican France. To this shameful deed France was seduced by a designing majority, headed by her evil genius, Louis Napoleon. It would be hard to say whether the events of 1849, of 1852, or of 1870 form the darkest passages in that murderous and cowardly career ; but for pure superfluity of hypocritical, selfish malice, we are inclined to award the palm to the earlier year. It was reserved for the nephew and would-be imitator of the man who from his solitude in St. Helena declared that 'unity of languages, of manners, of literature, show that Italy is destined to form a single country,' to retard, for he could not prevent, the growing germ of Italian nationality ; for the President of the French Republic, to crush perhaps the purest and most heroic Republic that modern Europe has seen.

After the fall of Rome before the combined force of the French army and the treachery of General Oudinot, Mazzini stayed openly for a week at Rome, as a private individual ; and during this time not a single accusation was made against him by the numerous papal partisans in the city ;—a fact which triumphantly refutes the calumnies of terrorism and corruption so industriously circulated by the French Government of the day. On leaving Rome he proceeded to Marseilles, and passed on to Switzerland, whence he wrote the letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville and De Falloux, ministers of France, of which the damning evidence, the merciless logic, and the terrible, contemptuous invective must have pierced even that somewhat callous thing, the conscience of the Government to which it was addressed.

At this point Mazzini's memoir closes. His life henceforth was, for the most part, one of calm, though active endurance. He shortly returned to England, where, with brief intervals of continental travel, he resided till the recent Italian revolution, living the same simple unassuming life as before. The imprisonment at Gaeta, the closing scene at Pisa, are too recent to need to be recorded here.

II.

The writings of a man who has lived a life of storm and exile such as that of which we have just traced the outline, a life devoted

in the very teeth of opposing circumstances, to the practical realisation of a religious, social, and political idea, might be expected to be of a somewhat fragmentary kind, and to have appeared, as Mazzini's writings did for the most part appear, in the form of pamphlets, reviews, and journals. To this cause it is in great measure due that very few people are aware of the amount of influence which they have exercised on the English thought of the last thirty years. Though never widely read himself, he has been the teacher of most of the popular instructors; and we have no hesitation in saying that there is hardly a cultivated liberal in England who does not, consciously or unconsciously, owe to this source much of what is most valuable in his literary and political education. This teaching has taken some time to filter down to the level of that vague but important class, the 'intellectual public,' who, without possessing any marked literary or philosophical aptitude, take a certain interest in intellectual pursuits; and its origin has been so much obscured in the process that not a few would be surprised, on reading his works for the first time, to find that ideas which they had recently, and with a sense of novelty, imbibed from able editors and enlightened reviewers, were preached, not hesitatingly or tentatively, but with the full assurance of a prophet, as much as thirty, or even forty years ago, in journals of which they probably never heard, and which have long since ceased to exist.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Mazzini's genius is the singular combination which it presents of vastness and profundity with a more than womanly tenderness and insight into every shade of gentler feeling. His mind when at its best moves in gigantic flights, at an elevation where all dualism between thought and emotion, intellect and sentiment has ceased, and the two seem blended into one harmonious spiritual whole. Yet with all this largeness of sweep and range, he is never hard or bitter, never blind to the beauty even of the dead past, always tenderly stern towards the sinner in spite of his indignation against the sin. The basis of his spiritual life was one great primary idea, which he proclaimed with the same unfaltering assurance from the beginning to the end of his career. And that idea was that the age of individualism, rights, and liberty has, in the intellectual sphere, and to some extent in the practical-sphere also, been brought to a close, and must be succeeded wherever, and as fast as, it is worked out by the age of association, duties, and true authority. To this great conception, which is rapidly taking its place among admitted truths, may be traced most of the more specific doctrines which combine with it to form Mazzini's contribution to the thought of the day.

Before touching on the literary and critical writings included in this collection, it may be well to consider the point of view from

which their author regarded the long vexed question of the aim and scope of art, of the theory of artistic effort, *viz.*, to put it in its crudest and most naked form, Does art aim at the beautiful or at the good? The commonplace answer of course is that neither one or the other is the exclusive aim of art, but the beautiful only so far as it is good, and the good only so far as it is beautiful; but the inadequacy of such a reply is too obvious to require comment, and we must go somewhat deeper to find a real solution.

It may be laid down as a general rule that when of two apparently conflicting ideas each irresistibly recommends itself to our consciousness, there must be some vaster synthesis behind or underlying them which comprehends and reconciles them in itself. This principle may, if followed out, point to at least an approximate solution of a question which does not, perhaps, at present admit of being completely answered. Thus, the object of every department of human effort is twofold; special, or the attainment of proficiency in its own particular branch; and general, or the attainment of universal and harmonious perfection. Now, perfection is manifold, and art aims primarily at its beautiful side; but in so doing she must not sin against the other sides, the true, the just, the pure. If she does so sin, it is at her own peril, for thereby she will inevitably fall short, so far, of perfection even in her own sphere. Passion for instance, to be perfect, must be pure. Such, or something like this, is Mazzini's answer to the question above stated. His works are in themselves an embodied protest against the doctrine of 'Art for Art's sake,' which he combated so often and so earnestly. He never wrote for the sake of writing, never because he had to say something, but always, because he had something to say. It was his deepest conviction that human life is *one*, and can only be rightly guided by a religious conception pervading and interpenetrating all its departments. Politics he held to be the application of religion, and art and literature to be the expression and embodiment of the religious spirit working in the sphere of beauty.

But we must quote his own words:—

'Truth is one, and governs every manifestation of life. Every stage of the education of humanity, or of a single nation, is presided over by a social thought, expressing and representing the degree of progress in course of achievement. Religion, art, politics, industry, all express and promote this thought in methods varying according to their special mission, and the elements over which their influence extends. Genius, the spirit gifted with exceptional power—may either sum up the past, or prophesy the future; but the collective literature, the art of one or of many nations, is inspired and informed solely by the immediate social aim of the epoch. The special aim of art is to excite mankind

to reduce thought to action. Philosophy, since its earliest existence, has almost always been the repository of the ruling thought of its epoch. But that thought, while confined to the region of philosophy, is unfruitful ; the object of mere individual contemplation, it is incapable of modifying social life, unable to incarnate itself in and direct the action of mankind. Religion seizes upon that thought, relinks it to heaven, gives it the consecration of a divine origin and of a future ; then, setting it on high as the supreme law and aim of human action, transforms the world through it. The ministry of art is similar. Art seizes upon the idea lying inactive in the mind, to instil it into the heart, confides it to the affections, and converts it into a passion which transforms man from a thinker into an apostle. The thought of the epoch in our nation is the creation of an Italy, great and free. and the thought of the epoch in humanity, whatever appearances may say to the contrary, is a religious transformation. A new heaven and a new earth—is this a narrow field for the future art of Italy ?

‘There are two errors that threaten art :—the theory that it is an imitation of nature, and the theory that would make self-worship its ruling law, and has created the formula of ‘art for art’s sake.’ The first would deprive it of all spontaneous individual life ; the second breaks the link that binds it to the universe. the first theory renders art useless, the second, dangerous ; both condemn it to sterility. Art does not imitate but interpret. Nature is for art the garb of the Eternal. the opposite theory reduces the poet to a level with the photographer.

‘Art is not the fancy or caprice of an individual. It is the mighty voice of God and the Universe, as heard by the chosen spirit, and repeated in tones of harmony to mankind. Art is no isolated, unconnected, or inexplicable phenomenon. It draws its life from the life of the Universe, and with the Universe it ascends from epoch to epoch towards the Almighty.’

These passages are from Mazzini’s preface to the edition of his literary and critical writings now before us, dated 1861 ; but they are merely a condensation of what he had written thirty years previously in the *Indicatore Livornese* and the *Antologia*. The ideas are now, fortunately, almost trite, but they were novel enough when he first became their mouthpiece.

Of the articles included in this collection the most noticeable are those on the poems of Victor Hugo, and of Lamartine, two articles on Carlyle, and one on Byron and Goethe.

The papers on Hugo and Lamartine were published in the *British and Foreign Review* in 1838 and 1839, respectively. They are devoted to the examination of the causes of the incompleteness and gradual deterioration of the two great French

poets, and show how by somewhat different paths they arrive at a similar result. To begin with Victor Hugo, the decline of faith, joyousness, spontaneity successively exhibited in the *Feuilles d'Automne*, the *Chants du Crépuscule*, and finally in the *Voix Intérieures*, is pointed out. 'At his outset he hoped to invent creeds, now he is content with bearing witness to them.' And the sense of impotence in which he is landed is ascribed to this, that whereas he 'desired to effect a literary revolution, not in forms only (that he has achieved), but in essentials, to change both the starting point and the goal of poetry, to reknit the broken alliance between creeds and literature, between poetry and faith—an aim which nothing short of a great religious conception, higher than the age to whose diseases it was to minister, could suffice to effect—he has failed to work under the guidance of any such conception. Received opinion in France had, up to Hugo's time, been pretty much to the effect that the Universe could be divided into two parts by a hard and fast line, on one side of which were to be found poetry and beauty, and on the other ugliness and prose; and the sphere of art was held to lie exclusively on the side of the beautiful. Hugo determined to restore to poetry that half of the world which had hitherto been lost to her. 'What we call ugly,' he says, 'harmonises not with man but with creation;' and his career, as poet, dramatist, or novelist, has been a varying commentary on this one idea of *rehabilitation*, as of the actress in *Angelo*, of the buffoon in *Le Roi s'amuse*, of physical deformity in *Notre Dame*, of guilt in *Lucrece Borgia*, of the fallen woman in *Marion Delorme*, of the criminal in *Les Derniers Jours d'un Condamné*. 'This,' says Mazzini, 'is a grand and beautiful thought, at once moral and profoundly artistic. but to the poet who undertakes to realise this view of art, a previous conception of the general order, a deep sense of the universal life and harmony ... are indispensable in other words, if we would rehabilitate an individual, man or thing, we must rise above it from the point of view of the universe only can the real value of things be recognized and appreciated; from the point of view of humanity only can the real value and destinies of man be recognized and appreciated. Man, Humanity, God; such is the triangle in which the poet who would achieve the task undertaken by Victor Hugo must move.'

Now this he has not done, and therefore he has failed. 'Victor Hugo has remained the poet of individuality in the full sense of the expression. Never, hardly ever, has he risen above it; never does he universalize life, never attain to a conception of unity. He is an objective poet, for ever governed by what is external to himself, ever drawn away from mind to matter, from the idea to the symbol, from the essence to the form.' All this accounts

for his failure, for the exhibition in his poems of the idea enslaved by form, of mind absorbed by matter, instead of illuminating it 'like flame through alabaster,' for the constant descent in his poetry from the deity to the symbol, instead of the ascent from the symbol to the deity. 'Humanity plays no part in his verses. Of the three points of the triangle he retains only two; *i.e.*, God and man.' Hence doubt, uncertainty, wavering; 'for man must always appear enveloped in doubt so long as he is not contemplated from the point of view of humanity. From the species only can the law governing the individual be learned. Only by taking the idea of man's mission here on earth as our starting point, are religion, philosophy, or poetry at the present day possible.'

The article on Lamartine points out the decline from the *Méditations* exhibited by *La Chute d'un Ange*, and traces it to the same causes as those which produced the fall of Victor Hugo. 'Like him, M. Lamartine, influenced by the instincts of his age and of his own talent, proposed to himself as his object, human rehabilitation from the religious point of view; like him he has proved short-sighted and incompetent to perceive that the only rehabilitation for the individual is through the species.'

Vague uncertainty, sterility of ideas, superfluity of forms, monotony, or delusive material variety, such is the position reached by somewhat divergent paths, of Victor Hugo and Lamartine, 'the two most powerful poets of France of the nineteenth century, the two heads of the Romantic school, the only difference between whom is caused by the peculiar temper of the talent of each. The one, more naturally serious, more objective, more dramatic—despite his bad dramas—more powerful, perhaps, takes the God and imprisons him in the symbol; he is an idolator, a pagan. The other, more narrow-minded, more subjective, more lyrical—at bottom, perhaps, more religious—absorbs the symbol in the God, the creature in the Creator; he is a pantheist, an orientalist. The connecting link, the graduated scale, escapes both; the moral effect of their strains is identical, neither the one nor the other is a religious educator poet, the poet of the future. The future of art is not there. The progress of ideas has little by little changed the point of view of philosophy, of science, of policy; art must advance with the world and similarly change its own. What has hitherto been its end must no longer serve as aught but a starting point. . . . Man will yield precedence to humanity—*will yield precedence*, not be *obliterated*, for nothing that has been is obliterated. Individuality is sacred, for it is an essential element upon this earth, but it must henceforward harmonise with the social conception.'

Criticism such as this is sufficiently rare still to enable us in

some degree to appreciate its novelty when first published, more than thirty years ago.

His articles on Carlyle, however, have probably had more direct influence in England than any other of Mazzini's writings. It is not too much to say that the keynote of all recent criticism of Carlyle is struck in these pages which first appeared in the *British and Foreign Review* in 1843, the time when the great 'Germanized Scotchman' was the most perplexingly dazzling phenomenon in contemporary English literature. The estimate which a man forms of Carlyle is, even now, no bad test of his appreciative faculty; but thirty years ago it was probably the most decisive criterion possible. Most people have by this time made up their minds that Mr. Carlyle's social and political opinions are not such as it would be desirable to put into practice. Slavery and autocracy can hardly be accepted as satisfactory principles by the most retrograde *bourgeois* who breathes the intellectual atmosphere of England in the year of grace 1873. But a much more important and interesting question than the correctness or incorrectness of Mr. Carlyle's opinions is the further question, How did such a man, who seems to have naturally all the qualities which go to make a democrat and a reformer, come to hold such opinions? This question was raised in the pages before us nearly thirty years ago, and answered at least as satisfactorily as it has ever been answered since. Mr. John Morley's excellent essay on Carlyle, the most recent and probably the best extant writing on the man, is, so far, at least, as regards this part of the subject, merely an elaboration of what Mazzini wrote in 1843.

While fully acknowledging his enormous intellectual, or rather spiritual force, and the good work which it has done as a solvent and a tonic, Mazzini unanswerably (to our thinking, at least) demonstrates the inevitable sterility of the Carlylian method, or want of method; and, what is a great deal more, traces it to its origin in an erroneous, because defective, conception of the epoch, and of the law which governs its evolution. Carlyle, he says, has three great merits, and first of these is his palpable sincerity, which, combined with his freedom (in those days at least) from anything like spiteful bitterness, secures his greatest paradoxes a favourable hearing.

'I know no English writer who has during the last ten years so vigorously attacked the half Gothic, half pagan edifice which still imprisons the free flight of the spirit, no one who has thrown among a public much addicted to routine and formalism so many bold negations, so many religious and social views novel and contrary to any existing ones, yet no one who excites less of hostility and animadversion.'

Secondly, the spiritual or ideal view which he takes of life,

'the only essentially religious one, and one of extreme importance here especially, where the very men who battle the most boldly for social progress are led away by degrees to neglect the development of what is highest, holiest and most imperishable in man, and to devote themselves to the pursuit of what they call the useful. There is nothing useful but the good and that which it produces; usefulness is a consequence to be foreseen, not a principle to be invoked.'

Thirdly, elevation of his point of view.

'His horizon always extends beyond the limit of country; his criticism is never stamped with that spirit of nationalism (I do not say of nationality, a thing sacred to us all) which is only too much at work amongst us.' To Carlyle's powers as a literary artist too, at least ample justice is done, and then comes the inevitable "but."

Carlyle, says Mazzini, has but one fault, but that one is vital. 'It influences all he does, it determines all his views; for logic and system rule the intellect, even when the latter pretends the most to rise against them.' This error is his view of the collective intelligence of our times. The period now beginning is ruled in all its manifestations 'by the spirit of *Humanity* visibly substituting itself (for it has always been silently and unperceived at work) for the spirit of *man* . . . From the point of view of the individuals, we have gained the idea of right; we have worked out (were it only in thought) liberty and equality—the two great guarantees of all personality: we proceed further. We stammer out the words duty—that is to say, something which can only be derived from the general law—and Association—that is to say, something which requires a common object, a common belief We have begun to suspect that not only there is upon the earth something greater, more holy, more divine than the individual—namely Humanity, the collective Being always living, learning, advancing towards God, of which we are but the instruments; but also that it is only from the summit of this collective idea, from the conception of the Universal Mind, that we can derive our mission, the rule of our life, the aim of our societies. It signifies little that our first essays, St. Simonianism, Owenism, Fourierism are strange aberrations. That which is important is the idea common to all these doctrines, the starting point they take.'

Now, Carlyle—

'Comprehends only the individual He sympathises with all men, but it is with the separate life of each, and not with their collective life, Of the two criteria of certainty, individual conscience and universal tradition, between which mankind has hitherto perpetually fluctuated, and the reconcile-

ment of which appears to constitute the only means we possess of recognizing truth, he adopts only the first, and rejects, or at least wholly neglects, the other' God and the individual man—Mr. Carlyle sees no other object in the world. But how can the solitary individual approach God, unless by transport, by enthusiasm, by the unpremeditated, upward flight of the spirit, unshackled by method or calculation? Hence arise all Mr. Carlyle's antipathy to the labours of philosophy—his bitter and often violent censure of all who endeavour to transform the social state as it exists.'

It is only the existence of humanity that gives value and method to the life and acts of the individual, and Carlyle, forgetting this, is without a sound criterion whereby to estimate individual deeds and worth, and values them rather by the power expended than by the object aimed at. Hence that indifference which makes him not only esteem, but love equally men whose lives have been spent in pursuing contrary objects—Johnson and Cromwell for example. He desires the good everywhere, but cares not whence it comes, whether imposed by power, or the spontaneous impulse of a people; forgetting that 'the good is above all a moral question; that there is no good apart from consciousness of good; that it exists only where it is *achieved*, not *obtained* by man.' Mazzini then proceeds to combat the Carlylian doctrine of the unconsciousness of genius and asks whether it would not be better to attempt to cure the malady producing the 'self-sentience' and 'self-survey' against which Carlyle so fiercely declaims, than merely to suppress its symptoms.

All this is enough to account for the utter contempt with which Carlyle regards anything like political reform. 'One wise man more in the world would be to him a fact of more importance than ten political revolutions. It would be so to me also, were I able to create him, as Wagner does his Homunculus, by blowing on the furnaces,—if the changes in the political order of things did not precisely constitute the very preliminary steps indispensable to the creation of the just and wise man. This want of the political sense incapacitates Carlyle, with all his fine gifts of lifelike description, for forming a just conception of recent events, the nearness of which to his own time frightens him. 'The past has everything to expect from him, the present nothing—not even common justice. . . . He has written many admirable pages on Knox and Cromwell, but the chances are that he would have written as admirably, though less truly, against them, had he lived at the commencement of their struggles.'

Passing on to the 'History of the French Revolution,' Mazzini notices the unanimous praise with which its appearance was received by men of all parties as a proof that it was regarded as dangerous by none, and asks if it is possible that a book on such a

subject which is thus accepted by all parties can be a work of lasting usefulness. No ; indifference, not impartiality, is the characteristic of the book. Here, as elsewhere, Carlyle, blind to the principle of Association, ignoring or even denying the collective law of life and the unity of the divine idea, figuring great events as due to or modifiable by the accidents of individual will or caprice, merges 'the sacred mission of the historian' in the 'brilliant, ephemeral vocation of the artist,' as the latter term is at present used, signifying 'a being alike the offspring and parent of transitory impressions, idolator of the form and image, whose soulless and fugitive creations, evoked by the power of phantasy alone, are destitute of serious intent or purpose.'

And this is what Carlyle does when he says that if Mirabeau had lived one other year, or if Louis XVI. had shown greater firmness when captured, the history of France and of the world would have been changed. Much that is defective in Carlyle is traced to the influence of Goethe, and Mazzini expresses his 'profound conviction that neither from the principles nor sentiments of that great genius, perhaps the greatest of the epoch now closed, can we derive inspiration to lead us in the epoch to come. Goethe is like a magnificent tree, growing on the confines of two worlds, marvellous to behold, but fatal to all who rest beneath its shadow.'

Space forbids us to attempt anything like analysis of the paper on Byron and Goethe. It is an elucidation of the position from which it starts, that the two great singers were the supreme poetic expression, the final summing up—Byron of the subjective, Goethe of the objective side—of the spirit of the past epoch, of that principle of individuality of which England was the economic, France the political, and Germany the philosophic exponent. This paper too, we may observe, was first published in 1839.

We cannot close even so slight a sketch as this without referring to one of the most interesting incidents in the history of literary psychology—the extraordinary influence which Mazzini has exercised over the mind of probably the most powerful living English poet, whose genius, whatever may be thought of the direction it has taken, it is impossible to deny. There is not perhaps on record an alteration of tone and spirit at once so sudden and so profound as that exhibited by the intense, passionate whiteheat of faith and devotion that breathes and glows through the 'Song of Italy,' and yet more through the 'Songs before Sunrise,' from the fierce, desperate, jaded paganism which is the inspiring force of 'Poems and Ballads,' of 'Chastelard,' and, in a less degree, even of 'Atalanta in Calydon.' But this is only one, though perhaps to Englishmen the most notable, instance of the power which Mazzini has through life exercised over all who came in contact with him, the fascination of an exquisite personality.

Let us say in conclusion that Mazzini seems to us the most heroic figure of modern times. Since the days of St. Paul, no more romantic, no more pure, no more devoted life has been lived by any man than that which closed at Pisa on Sunday, March 10th, 1872. No man ever imported into political life a larger measure of imaginative genius, of indomitable resolution, or of incorruptible fidelity. As a writer, he is a prophet, and a politico-religious teacher, not an artist. His object is to produce, not admiration, but conviction. Much of his idea has been realised, much yet remains to fulfil. He died in sight of the promised land towards which he had guided his countrymen so long and so faithfully. Truly, like that of Moses, a mournful and mysterious doom. Far better dismissed with thoughtful silence than by any commonplace of virtue being its own reward, or the like. If we must pass any comment, let it be in the words of our greatest moralist, if not our greatest novelist: 'Justice is like the kingdom of God—it is not without us as a fact, it is within us as a great yearning.'

H. C. IRWIN.

ART. VI.—EDUCATION IN MADRAS.

1.—*Reports on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1870-71.*

2.—*Ditto ditto for 1871-72.*

THE two years, of which the above Reports tell the educational history, have seen important changes, almost radical reforms, in the administration of public instruction in Madras. These narratives, therefore, possess more than usual interest, and claim the attention of all those who value education as the most sure if among the slowest of civilising agents. More than a year has elapsed since we examined the scheme of elementary education that was started in Madras under the auspices of Act IV. of 1871. We compared that scheme with existing systems; and estimated the improving power of its proposals by the magnitude of the evils which were to be remedied, and the efficiency and virtue of the remedies it offered. Although we saw promise of real improvement, the onward and upward way looked difficult, and progress could not but be slow.

We now stand with a year's work behind us, and shall do well to read its experience and learn its lessons. And not only for elementary education is this an unusually active and anxious time. Indications are not wanting of a spirit that criticises and questions the utility of our higher education. And if such criticisms are to be successfully answered, and not feebly ignored, a more general knowledge is necessary of what that higher education is and does; as well as a more clear apprehension of what its aims should be.

Information on such subjects should surely be found, if anywhere, in the official yearly review of the work undertaken and done by the Educational Department. Not only the bare facts and figures that tell the fate of particular schools, and the results of examinations, not these only are the fit matter for such reports. A wider range might well be taken into topics that rise immediately out of those dry details, which taken by themselves are almost uninformative, and can only be made fruitful of meaning by those who understand their import. Of the two styles which we have indicated, and which may be termed the 'dry' and the 'informative' respectively, the two reports before us are illustrative specimens.

That for 1870-71 contains some seventy pages, of which nearly half are covered by figures, while the remainder give the hard details, and nothing more, of the management of particular schools—

information which might as easily as any other be collected under the definite heads of 'good,' 'bad,' and 'indifferent,' in a tabular form. It is not, however, the space devoted to these details that we grudge. There is no objection to what we find ; but only to the absence of other matter which we ought also to find. The figures are valuable, and there can scarcely be too many of them ; but their value does not lie on the surface, and unless their meaning is elicited and formulated into propositions that describe the existing conditions of education, they remain a mere heap of addition and multiplication sums.

The report of last year's operations is far less open to these criticisms. The year, indeed, was educationally so interesting that its chronicles could scarcely be dry as dust. The starting of a new and complex machine is full of interest, as it is of anxiety, for the managers ; and the large increase in the agency for elementary education was in itself a sufficient theme for a report.

It might surprise us, as a general rule, to learn that the manager of the new machinery, when called upon to record his experience of its working, had called in a stranger ; and left it to one who had watched not at all, or only from a distance, the progress of the work, to chronicle the experience of the workmen. Whatever our surprise may be, here we find, in fact, that the report for 1871-72 is written not by the Director of Public Instruction who appears to have held office throughout the year, but by a pure outsider who happened to be in temporary charge of that office. But let no one hastily suppose that as the arrangement is theoretically absurd, the results are actually disastrous. Colonel Macdonald's report is in many respects admirable. It has the primary virtue of being readable. The dry bones are there ; but they are clothed upon with flesh and sinew, and instead of a grinning skeleton, we have a fair comely body. Not only are the poets laid under contribution to confute Dr. Murdoch's pious prudery ; but some valuable and interesting remarks are offered on such subjects as the general tendency of higher education ; and the working of the new system of elementary education. It is true that we miss something of the full and detailed account of the working of the Local Funds Act, which we should have expected to find in the chronicle of its first year, but it is of course absurd to expect that a narrator, who has only a second hand acquaintance with the year's events, can write their history so fully, and draw from them conclusions so clearly as he could do who has been the chief actor therein throughout the year. We are too grateful to Colonel Macdonald for what he has told us, to complain of what he has withheld.

By the technicalities of the Madras Educational Department schools are classified under three categories as Higher, Middle, and Lower Class Schools. The first class comprises those superior

foundations which are dignified with the name of colleges; provincial schools educating up to the standard of the First Arts Examination of the University; and zillah and other schools which prepare scholars for the Matriculation Examination.

Middle class schools are those miscellaneous foundations, dotted more or less at hap-hazard about the rural districts, which give mixed instruction in English and the Vernacular. They are supported sometimes by local subscriptions, sometimes by salary grants from provincial funds, supplemented by the school fees; sometimes, but more rarely, they have been made Local Fund Schools under the Act of 1871. The quality and scope of their teaching vary even more than the sources of their support, and range from sound practical utility to the very verge of uselessness.

Schools of the lower class provide elementary education only in English and the Vernacular. They are supported almost wholly on the payment by results system; the funds being now supplied from the collections under the Local Funds Act. Though English is provided for in the standard examinations for results, as a general rule there is of course little demand for English in village schools, and it will therefore not be erroneous to treat these as purely vernacular schools.

Having thus laid out the ground before us, we may proceed to examine that portion which stands first in these reports, and which occupies a no less prominent position in public importance and attention.

The higher education of our schools and universities can scarcely be judged by the tests and standards to which lower degrees of instruction are subject. The efficiency of elementary education in any country can be rudely tested by the simple figures of those who can and cannot read and write. If only the figures are complete and accurate, the conclusion admits of little uncertainty. Between the national education of Prussia at one extreme and of Ashantee at the other, the relative positions of all communities can be fixed with sufficient accuracy. But as the amount of instruction increases, and its quality improves, the calculation becomes more complicated; until a point is reached where no standard of accurate valuation exists, or can readily be applied. Thus, in India, we may be able to state with sufficient accuracy the number of rustics who learn to read and write. But in estimating the results of higher education, there is no such positive standard. It is not only to count the number of students, who pass the examination that admits to the University, or that which practically completes the University course; this mere enumeration teaches little. Rather these examinations are only the means to an end—preliminary tests for admission to a contest, and not the contest itself. The school and university are only the

armouries in which the combatants equip themselves for a battle which lies beyond the gates ; and which only begins when school and university are left behind. How then can we estimate the scholars' success, unless we watch their career ? How say whether they have been well fitted for the business of life, unless we know how they acquit themselves of its duties, and win or lose its prizes. Difficulties no doubt present themselves when the attempt is made to trace the effects of higher education on society. There would be a danger of a few conspicuous cases of success overshadowing the mass of mediocrity. But unless the career of University men is watched, and from time to time chronicled in these reports, how can a true and sufficient answer be given to the popular criticisms that float through society, and grow as they float into admitted facts ? In no other way, for instance, can the vulgar estimate of University men be confuted, which hesitates not to define a B.A. of an Indian University as a half-taught, pompous, and conceited young man, who has learned a little of everything and nothing well. We only mention this vulgar opinion to condemn it. It is neither probable in theory, nor true in fact. Founded on the prejudice that resents the claim of natives to an equality in culture with the dominant race ; it is supported by a neglect of intercourse with the class which it censures, and by an ignorance of the work which the members of that class produce. If we would honestly estimate the difference between a scholar of the old school and a scholar of the new ; the comparison must not be instituted between an exceptionally courteous and refined old gentleman, and an exceptionally bumptious member of the Madras University—as the test is now applied,—but the two *régimes* must be compared in the gross ; and a fair estimate formed of the comparative results of the two systems as they appear in public life. And as Government employment is still the goal of the mass of educated young men in India, while twenty years ago it would have been difficult to find a scholar outside the official ranks, the proper object for this comparison is still the crowd of public officials. If the best of the young officials are not more capable and useful men than the best of the last generation ; if the rank and file, when drawn from the educated class, are not more trustworthy and profitable than their uneducated predecessors ; if in short the whole tone and matter, as well as the form and manner of official work are not being raised and refined by the exchange of knowledge for ignorance ; then, indeed, is our teaching vain ; and our faith in education vain also. What the answer of unprejudiced men must be, we entertain no doubt whatever. We look upon those *laudatores temporis acti* (who find a sphere and a theme even in India, where hardly anything that is old is valuable), as the incarnation of Philistinism ; that wraps itself round

with a cloak of self-sufficiency, and acts on the theory that whatever is, is right. The true way to dispel this ignorance, and the only trusty weapon with which to slay this prejudice, is the constant insisting upon the good results of higher education, and the reiteration of the facts which prove its value. And, therefore, until the champion of this cause, whom we take to be the Director of Public Instruction, shows his strength by showing the practical success of his scholars, he will fail to plead his cause with power. And when we say that he is in a manner bound to hold this attitude of champion, we look above and beyond the immediate aim of a report, to the real meaning of this yearly chronicle of education. The Educational Report for a whole Presidency is not, or rather ought not to be, a mere statement of debit and credit between two departments of Government, not the dry explanation of how certain sums of money were expended, and certain officials employed. Rather is it a leaf in national history, a record of the struggle of thirty millions of men up towards light and knowledge. And unless such a narrative looks before and after; showing at every turn an appreciation of the aims to be reached; and a knowledge of the evils to be shunned, it excites a feeling that the writer has failed to conceive the importance of the work he is doing; and has missed the spirit in which alone it can be done.

We hold it then to be incontrovertible that the education which the University encourages is already bearing good fruit in public life, and that this success is only disparaged because its proper champions neglect to prove it. It is not, however, so clear that the present phase of university education is the most admirable, and that the latest type of university man is superior to its predecessors. And if it is true that the Proficient of the Madras University carried into official or private life a more complete culture, and built his acquired knowledge into a more finished structure than the mass of recent graduates attain to, it is well to note the fact, and, if we can, to understand its causes. Foremost among these doubtless stands the advantage the early pupils of the University teachers enjoyed in the monopoly among a few of that teaching; and the closer contact that was possible between the masters and the students. The small knot of pupils that then sat at their professors' feet imbibed as much indirectly from familiar intercourse as directly from special instruction; and if numbers have now diminished to each student the individual advantage that their predecessors enjoyed, the loss cannot but make itself felt and seen in the characters and culture of the younger graduates.

Those only who have marked the affectionate reverence with which university graduates cherish the name of their best teachers, can understand the value that the best of them attach to the education they receive. The goodwill that some men

earn in other fields of official life in India by integrity and kindness, is but blank indifference when compared with the gratitude of a Hindu pupil to his master. The clever politician whose influence is felt in relieving a province from misrule; or the upright judge whose justice makes the law at once a terror and a guardian; these may leave a vague memory of good behind them. But the labours of the devoted teacher live in the memories of hundreds of scholars, and excite a sense of deep personal obligation that can never be discharged. There is much of discouragement and much ill-requited labour undergone by those who are helping the Hindus to become a new nation. But from the best of their pupils they rarely fail to receive an affectionate homage that must have all the sweetness of well-earned reward.

The increase of work and the widening of the sphere of higher education can well be understood from the comparative results over a period of fourteen years. If the University of Madras produced only two graduates in 1858, while no less than seventy-two B. A.'s graduated in 1872, the growth of higher education must bear some proportion to the difference between these figures, not only in Madras itself, but throughout Southern India. Nor is it to be deeply regretted if, in increasing the quantity of her scholars, the Madras University has seen some falling off in the quality of their scholarship. A mere handful of students highly trained in intelligence might be more fruitful in conspicuous results, but not more valuable to a nation, than a far larger supply of less rare and costly intellects. We have not to stock a green-house with exotics, but to plant a desert with useful trees; and if there be less of showy foliage and gorgeous blossom in our plantation, we may be well content with sturdy growth and homely but useful plainness. There are those indeed who assert that the scholarship of Indian Universities has seen its best days, and is already on the decline; as native professors of English literature supply the place of men trained in British Universities; and English is taught as a foreign language, by masters whose accents are peculiar and whose idiom is incorrect. Time must show how far this charge is true.

One defect, however, that taints the present phase of higher education, is so commonly noticed that the absence of any allusion to it from these reports must have been deliberate. We allude to the subject of the controversy that has been long waged, and appears to be of late growing into greater importance, as to the prescription of special text-books for the University Examinations—whether it is well to direct the student's mind to the assimilation of a particular book, or to leave him free to gather from whatever sources he or his teachers can lay under contribution the knowledge of letters or science.

This subject is one on which dogmatism is absurd; but which

it is mere weakness to ignore. Although we doubt whether the time has come for sweeping changes in the existing system, there appear to be strong grounds for a belief that the almost exclusive adherence to the practice now in vogue, of selecting extracts from literature and bits of a subject for the students' examinations, tends to confine their reading within very narrow limits ; to teach them a little of many things, without giving them a thorough knowledge of any. The principles upon which such a controversy must be conducted are clear enough ; as is the fact that what is true of one part of the field will not be true of another. As different departments of knowledge have attained very various degrees of completeness, the principles that must govern instruction in one subject will not apply to the teaching of another. This difference consists in the higher or lower degree in which each division of knowledge has attained positivity ; and in which the laws that govern each department of science have been rendered demonstrable. In applying this principle to the subject of education, we find that between the study of mathematics, which has attained the highest degree of positivity, and that of literature or the statics of language, there exist such differences that it would be absurd to treat them as equal.

Grammar, or the laws of language ; history, or the statics of social science ; and geography, which properly treated is only part of the same field, these all differ in the degree in which they have as yet become sciences. They range so widely, and are so little systematised, that undirected efforts to acquire a knowledge of them might be dissipated so wildly as to produce results incapable of valuation. That is the danger to be dreaded. But on the other hand the present system is not without real evils : and it is time that those who are responsible for the conduct of higher education should face these difficulties and, if they can, remove them.

There are so few in India whom special attention to and knowledge of educational subjects render competent to express an opinion on these matters, that the ruling few have it all their own way. Public opinion cannot be said to exist at all ; and thus the position of those who are officially interested in maintaining the *status quo* becomes impregnable. In no efficiently managed institution, for instance, would it have been possible that the charge of persistent and almost deliberate obscenity, which has after frequent iterations been admitted, should go unregarded. If Dr. Murdoch had not marred the vigorous advocacy of a good cause by offensive personalities, he would have won the thanks of many who resent the official support of all that is filthy in Hindu literature.

It is unnecessary to discuss the strange farrago of impossible proposals that Dr. Murdoch put forth as educational reforms.

Probably, by this time his regret at its publication is as deep and sincere as our own. But for the mere protest against obscenity Dr. Murdoch deserves nothing but gratitude; while we cannot suppress the rising doubt whether the University authorities rightly interpret their duties and realise their responsibilities, when we find them prescribing books which they cannot only never have read (that is not to be expected), but which no competent adviser can have recommended. It is by scandals of this kind that occasion is given to those light and airy critics who for a single defect in detail condemn a whole system. And though such criticism may be worthless, the errors which it exaggerates are as real as they are unnecessary. The governing body of the Madras University is probably as well selected and efficiently constituted as the scanty materials of a small colonial society permit. If their energy in improving higher education, and their care in administering it have hitherto seemed to fail, the weakness arises from defect of will and not of power.

Attached to the University of Madras by ties stronger in theory than in fact are the scientific and technical colleges and schools of Art, Medicine and Civil Engineering. Of the first it is difficult to speak in terms of respect. Residents of Madras have habituated themselves to the necessity of surrounding their house-doors and decking their garden walks with specimens of the rude and ungraceful pottery that the School of Arts supplies; and a certain number of indifferent photographers and artists who are destined to starve by art issue from this school, and court in vain an unappreciating public. But of solid results there are none; and not only are they absent, but they are not in course of development. An Indian School of Arts must, we conceive, have one of two aims. Either its purpose will be to revive the indigenous arts of India, that have either wholly vanished or are even now falling into decay. This is a real and intelligible object; although, probably, a hopeless struggle. Or again the school may be a nursery of native craftsmen trained in European arts and industries—a technic school or college that is, the humbler sister of the schools of pure learning; to which might be attracted those classes who have to live by manual labour, and who might learn from systematic training to exchange the ingenuity and completeness of the Western artisan for the rude and ineffective methods of the Indian craftsman. The School of Arts in Madras is neither of these. It is a weak and sickly institution, supported neither by public repute nor by official patronage. It absorbs so much money as to be expensive; while it is refused the ways and means that can alone make it efficient. The devotion of the whole time and energy of an unusually zealous and enthusiastic principal has hitherto

failed to make it anything but a conspicuous sham. To say that this is a natural and necessary result of the culture of art in India, is to maintain what appears to us to be a paradox. The arts are so intimately connected with human needs and wishes, that the gain of artistic teaching must be felt by every member of a civilised society, and to say that it is useless to train men in technic skill is to say that ignorance is better than knowledge.

If, then, the present failure of technic education in India is as unnecessary as it is complete, it is sheer indolence to be content with such a condition. Nor are models wanting which we may imitate, nor material on which we may work. What is true of the School of Arts is in a less degree true of the Civil Engineering College. Partly, no doubt, the want of success that attends this institution may be attributed to the coldness of official patronage; since in India the public works that employ engineering knowledge and skill originate only in Government enterprise; and if those trained in this knowledge fail to find employment under Government, no second market is open to them. Thus the time and labour of a young engineer may have been wholly thrown away at the completion of his college course, if he is refused admission into a service that is already overstocked in its lower grades with sergeants and corporals, who prefer the rewards, direct and indirect, of the Department of Public Works, to the uneventful indolence of a barrack. Whether the physically vigorous and strong soldier is a better overseer of public works than the weaker but more intelligent native is a question that admits of argument.

It is, however, obvious that men will not spend the best years of their life in acquiring knowledge for which there is no demand; and unless the Government deliberately prefers the English soldier to the educated native for the lower grades of the Department of Public Works, wider opening ought to be made for the native students of the Civil Engineering College. When the Director of Public Instruction gravely asserts that the guarantee of one appointment yearly to the post of Assistant Engineer for students of the college has contributed to a marked improvement in their number, it becomes evident that they have hitherto had to be thankful for very small mercies indeed.

The Medical College attracts the best and steadiest of young East Indians, and offers them, at the end of their course, a certainty of respectable, if not of excellent employment. Its lectures are therefore fairly attended, although recent years have seen no extension of the sphere of its operations.

There are in these institutions about one hundred students of medicine, eighty or ninety young engineers, and perhaps an equal number of scholars in the School of Arts. Each of these is a separate educational unit which receives no assistance from the other;

nor are any of them directly assisted by the Presidency College. In this, we conceive, lies the weakness of the whole system. A properly organised scheme of technical education would make these separate colleges mere branches of the Central College or University. The present Provincial college is now being undersold, especially in the junior department, by the many private establishments that compete with it in Madras. But it is probable that the disadvantages of expensiveness and of inconvenient situation could be fully countervailed by superiority of organisation in its higher departments. If the college became a technical college as well as a literary; if its pupils were drafted from the higher classes directly into the College of Arts, Medicine or Engineering as their powers and predilections led them; while the students of the literary college pursued at the same time the special subjects that their future professions require, law, moral science, or mathematics; not only would there be a great saving of power in the centralization of several now separate agencies; but the colleges that now suffer so severely by being left to make their own way, and find their own pupils, would gather strength and activity from contact with the Provincial school.

It is difficult within our limits to put these possibilities clearly; but those who have learned some thing of the French system of literary and technical education, or of the German *Real-Schule*, will understand the point on which we would insist; that the separation of these various centres of education is a mistake fatal to the success of nearly all of them. Thus the students of all branch colleges, engineers, lawyers or artists might learn some subjects side by side, while in purely technic instruction the lectures would be given almost solely to the students of that special subject, whatever it might be. This plan depends for success on nothing so much as upon careful organisation and arrangement of details; of which, one, of course, would be the localisation of all these colleges in one neighbourhood, if not in one building.

But that such a centralisation of the agencies of education would effect an enormous increase of results as well as great saving of labour, will scarcely be doubted by those who study the management of technic and literary education on the continent of Europe. Such wonderful institutions as the University of Zurich could never exist, if their separate departments had the isolated and mutually repellent character of these Madras colleges. A single college with a single head must displace the many headed system of colleges, before the success that we long to see can attend higher education in Madras.

It may appear chimerical to say that the science of agriculture will find its proper place among the studies of this reformed university. But if the time has come for scientific agriculture in

India—and that this is the opinion of Government is proved by the establishment of model farms—it cannot be too early to offer instruction in that science. Certainly, we are at a loss to conceive what success can attend the present plan, of giving high salaries, Rs. 40, to young men of fair education and position, who must, if they are to earn their pay, do work which is repulsive to their natural taste, and which has not been made intelligible to them by previous training. It is conceivable that the pupils of a professor of Agriculture might fit themselves for the superintendence of a farm, but it is quite inconceivable that young and untrained Bráhmans can add anything to a ryot's practice of agriculture.

Before quitting the subject of higher education we must notice the most recent phase of its development, in the special measures that are being taken to attract Musalmáns towards a higher type of education. Whether the previous experiences of Lord Hobart have inspired him with a special regard for the Musalmán, or whether he views this movement as a statesmanlike effort to make education and its rewards free and equal to all classes, matters little. The movement has, of course, its ludicrous side, when its first fruits appear in agitations for increased pensions to Begums, and in a general anticipation that Musalmáns are to sit in high places, and oust therefrom the too intelligent and competitively-examinable Hindu. But apart from these extravagances, there may well be in many men's minds a feeling that Musalmáns have not hitherto been fairly treated, and that now, for the first time, the weights are to be taken off them which have destroyed their chance in the race of life. Such a feeling, we believe, exists; and the mere removal of the causes from which it seemed to spring, the bare declaration that the field is open to all comers, will doubtless do good. But that substantial results will proceed from this philo-Moslem movement appears to be so doubtful that it may be well to examine some of the bearings of this question.

There is no little truth in the maxim that "you cannot make people good, or clean, or clever, or any thing else, by Act of Parliament." This is a bold and naked statement of the principle that legislation must follow and not precede public opinion, that law does not form but is formed by custom. If, then, this plan of educating Musalmáns meets a public want: if it is destined to supply a commodity for which there is an effective demand; its success is as certain as its origination is laudable. If on the other hand those whom it is proposed to make scholars refuse to submit to the process, the project must die in its inception; and the ship founder before she leaves her moorings. The movement originates in the not unnatural surprise which a new comer to India feels at the fact that the Musalmáns, who a short century ago were masters of the situation, lords paramount of

the whole of India, are now not only in a position of painful inferiority, but in Madras hold no public position whatever. Impressed with this strange and sudden decay of a whole race, the foreigner looks about him for the causes. He notices the intellectual acuteness and the untiring industry of the Hindu; he compares these qualities with the less strenuous and less practical disposition of the Musalmán; and finds in the contrast a type and an explanation of the rise of one race and the fall of the other.

Forgetting for the most part the cause that lies deeper—the inevitable degeneration of a northern race of conquerors; centuries of residence in a tropical climate; habits of indolence, that not only the climate but political supremacy also has provoked; and the corruption of a physically superior race, by miscegenation with the lower indigenous races of India—forgetting these fundamental causes of decay, the stranger contents himself with those obvious conditions that readily present themselves.

Thus the bare fact that in the higher ranks of the public service a mere fraction of Musalmáns held office, at once suggested the conclusion that it must be the fault of those who made the rules of admission to the service, and who administered the education that prepares young men for public life. It was easier to suppose that a general conspiracy for the exclusion of Musalmáns from office had worked this result, than to believe that a whole nationality deliberately and of set purpose refused to compete for success. That this was not the case; that on the contrary a real prejudice is felt by many Englishmen in favour of the Musalmán; and that an educated and trustworthy Muhammadan found no difficulty in making his way in the public service; these things are so notorious that we regret that the meritorious effort to improve the education of Musalmáns has been mixed up with matters not essential to it. If Musalmáns have hitherto been absent from our schools, and if they have failed to rise in the public service, their absence, and their failure are wholly of their own doing. They would have come to school, if they had desired the education that was offered them; and they would have risen in the grades of office, if they had been at the pains to fit themselves for preferment. And even now we hardly venture to expect that these conditions will be changed. The mere exchange of Arabic for Sanskrit, and of Hindustáni for Tamil and Telugu, will not fill the schools with crowds of eager scholars. For that was not really the barrier that kept the crowd outside. Rather was it the base and brutal prejudice of race; sharpened in this case by the consciousness of intellectual inferiority. The Musalmán hates the Hindu, and all the more keenly because his rival's brains are better. The same feeling that prevents the Indian Civil Service being thrown open by examinations in this

country—the refusal of equality with the dominant to the subject race—hinders the Musalmán from competing on terms of equality with the Hindu. And to this is added in each case the unfortunate circumstance that the physically stronger is not also intellectually the more acute race. If we felt sure that the British boy would head competitive lists to the exclusion of Ayangar and Mudali, we should throw open the examination to-morrow. Can we not then understand the Musalmán, even if we cannot encourage him, when he refuses to compete with his too clever rival?

It is unfortunate that good undertakings are started on false principles; because those who take exception to the reasons seem to object to the purpose, and in advocating other methods to pursue different ends. Nothing can be more desirable than to raise Musalmáns to a higher intellectual level. It is, however, at the very outset necessary to understand that their position has not been forced upon them from without. They took it up of their own free choice, and refused to move from it of set purpose. If, therefore, they are now to advance, the movement must begin from within; their own desire must urge them forward, and not the coaxing and enticements of patrons however powerful. If such a spirit of progress is now abroad among Musalmáns, no trifles of impediment will keep them back; if not—but we need not prophesy. In taking leave of this deeply interesting subject of higher education, a parting word of apology will not be out of place. Wherever a weak point has lain open, we have tried to probe it; to lay a finger on the sore, and to try to suggest a cure. In bearing witness to the real value of higher education in India, we have, we trust, guarded against the possibility of being charged with captiousness of criticism: and need not therefore to enlarge on what is good in the work of Madras colleges. Their greatest merit is, perhaps, the sober air of honesty and industry that pervades them, nothing of sham or pretence is added to gild the brazen image. We have heard of Indian colleges, whose histories are told in voluminous reports, and whose fame is blown on far-echoing trumpets, but their class rooms are empty, and their professors scarcely more numerous than their students; while the Provinces that they adorn care nothing for and learn nothing of the culture that the colleges are intended to shed around. It is not so in Madras. The writing of reports not having been included in the arts of Government, more count is taken of what is done, than of what is said in educational as in other matters. But that a lasting and valuable work is being done in filling the higher ranks both of public and private life with more intelligent and cultured minds, is a fact that will become more apparent every day.

Turn we now to the second story of the Educational building—to

the schools of the middle class ; and the instruction they offer ; and the results which they produce.

There is a deceptive appearance of simplicity about this branch of educational work, that it requires some experience to pierce. For the fact is that middle class education offers problems in some respects more difficult of solution than those offered by its elder sister, Higher Education. The first difficulty relates naturally to the subjects and amount of instruction to be offered by schools of this class. The aim set before a good high class school is obvious. To make the education of youths as complete as the best masters available, and long years of study, render possible. To prepare men for the higher grades of the public service ; and in short to make the young generation as wise as, if not wiser than the old. But to a middle class school these aims would be visionary ; and so it often happens that these schools have no aim at all.

There are in the Madras Presidency 500 schools giving various quantities and qualities of English education ; all classed together as middle class schools. They vary not merely from good to bad ; but to be precise, from a standard very little below the average of zillah schools to a condition in which the master's knowledge of English might fitly be represented by X—an unknown quantity. Dotted at haphazard among the small country towns and more populous villages of rural districts, these schools draw their pupils from the families of the well-to-do, and of the office-holding classes. In theory no doubt the Anglo-vernacular and Taluk schools act as feeders to the Zilla or Provincial schools that exist in the central station of each district. Educational officers are fain to picture to themselves a ceaseless stream of young aspirants passing from village school to Taluk school, and from thence to the Zilla school, or at one leap to the Presidency College. If this was so ; if the instruction of the middle class school really prepared its students for the next step on the ladder of learning, their usefulness would be complete and obvious. But figures, that try all theories, will not suffer us to hold this belief ; for if each Anglo-vernacular and Taluk school sent on even a half of its highest class half-yearly, or even yearly, to the higher school, the numbers of the 4th, 5th and 6th classes of the latter school would be swollen out of all recognition. The fact is that only the two or three favoured boys whose exceptional cleverness assures them success, or whose easy circumstances relieve them from the fear of expense, ever hope to rise above the standard of knowledge to which the middle class school raises them. And if they stop at this middle standard ; if they acquire the smattering of English that a Taluk schoolmaster can give his scholars ; if they assimilate a few crude and ill-digested facts from the history of their

country ; how can they promise to themselves an opportunity of turning this knowledge to account ? They learn either too little or too much, too little to be scholars and too much to be clowns. Enough to make them dissatisfied with the life their fathers led ; but not enough to carry them above it, to win life's richer rewards. And this difficulty is not disposed of by the recognition of the fact that there must always be degrees of knowledge ; that the dunces will always lag behind. Every degree of knowledge is no doubt in itself valuable as an exercise for the mind that has received it. Schools of all kinds have their value, and their proper place in the general scheme of education. It is to the nature and amount of the education that these middle schools supply that we draw attention. An English boy, who leaves the fourth class of an English grammar school, is probably as ill-taught and ignorant a youth, considering the time, trouble, and money that have been spent on him, as society can develope. But he finds his place in the working world ; and is able, in whatever line of life he starts, to find use at once for the small stock of knowledge that his brains supply. But an Indian middle class school teaches almost nothing that unimproved can be useful to a grown man. To stammer through a reading book is valuable as the first step to a knowledge of English literature ; and to work correctly long division sums is the first weapon in the armoury of the mathematician—but what if the English books are never seen after the school is quitted, and what if the long division is in commercial practice useless, and has to be thrown aside for other conventional methods, when the school-boy enters his father's shop ? Is it so sure that English education is for its own sake valuable ; or is its value confined to circumstances in which it becomes a marketable commodity ? Let it not be supposed that we would expunge English from the middle schools. There is an effective demand for it in these schools to a certain extent, and for particular scholars. The point which we urge is that these schools now supply this English education and nothing else, to all scholars alike whether they require it or not. The main consequence of this defect is that our middle class schools fail to attract the mass of the town-population. The commercial classes find little in our education that is practically useful ; and they care little for what it offers of ornament. They therefore seek elsewhere for the knowledge they need for their children ; and which our middle class schoolmasters not only cannot offer, but affect to despise. If it were not for the class that aspires to public office, which can only be reached by the passwords of English education, our middle schools would be empty. And since for every successful candidate twenty fail to win a prize, and fall back upon common service among the rank and file of the working world, it is not too much to say that the time and money

of these twenty are little better than wasted. Nothing appears to us so surprising as the complacency with which educational men regard this system. The indifferent quality and the inutility of this middle class education must be apparent to every one of them; yet hardly a word of doubt or hesitation rises to break the silence of satisfaction in which they live.

The probable cause of much that is weak and sickly in this branch of the Educational system, is the dissipation of strength among too many separate schools. That which secures the success of Zilla and Provincial schools is the restriction of their number within such limits as prevent the possibility of competition between them. The same precaution should be used with schools of the middle class. If private enterprise embarks in the foundation of such a school, no obstacle need be placed in its path. But if a given extent of country can only support one school of the higher class, there can be no sound reason for the indiscriminate establishment of middle class schools here there and everywhere as inexperience suggests and as indifference allows.

To suffer an active and damaging competition to arise between a private school and one founded by Government and supported by public money, is to throw deliberately away all the strength that comes from the organisation of a Department of Education. There is an appearance of hardship in the prohibition of private foundations without State permission and except under official supervision, which offends the Anglo-Saxon instinct. Probably, however, there is a truer wisdom in the exercise by the State, in the person of a Minister of Education, of a paternal control over all the agencies of instruction than in the management of education on the principles of Free trade. What thinking man in England would hesitate, if it were now possible, to exchange the orderly organisation of Germany, for the license and chaos of England in educational matters. In India, however, where everything is to be created, less waste of power will result from the absence of restriction on the foundation of schools, than we should gain by the control of private establishments. The soft-heartedness which even encourages by salary grants the competition of a private school with a Government foundation, in a locality unequal to the support of two establishments, is certainly to be deprecated. But very few are disposed to invest their capital or labour in the educational field; and far more waste occurs by the official establishment of a multitude of poor middle class schools than in the scanty grants which private teachers draw from the public funds. Another evil which results from this indiscriminate foundation of middle class schools is that every small town or considerable village thinks itself slighted and neglected to the gain of more favoured neighbours, if an Anglo-vernacular school is not

established within its limits. Nor is it possible now to make such small centres of population self-supplying as to middle class education. The excellent principle having been laid down that local taxation is to be imposed for the support of elementary education only; the future of middle class education is darkened by this provision. For it is certain that no town which pays house-tax for elementary schools, will be free with its money in support of a middle class education. Nothing hardens the heart, and tightens the pursestrings so powerfully as a compulsory contribution. The exasperation of an English gentleman who having paid his 'ship-money,' was called upon to contribute a 'benevolence,' would fairly represent the feelings of the Hindu shop-keeper, who, having been assessed under the house-tax, is asked to put his name down for something handsome towards an English school.

There is no want, however, of more schools of the middle class. It would be far better if the numbers were lessened and their quality improved. There are a multitude of schools which from the date of their foundation to the present time, have never produced a single decent English scholar, and have never given the least return for all the money spent upon them. They have not fed the distant Zilla school with well-grounded pupils; they have not carried their students over the first barrier to public life, the General Test examination; they have won no place in local esteem, and meet none of the requirements of the local community.

To strengthen and improve middle class education is, we believe, a task that will try all the knowledge and ingenuity of the Educational Department. The first necessity is that the want should be felt and the weakness recognized to a degree of which there is hardly any sign at present. We have barely touched upon and will not now further pursue one most important side of this question. The financial difficulties that surround the present and future of these middle class schools are most serious. Every day the existence of some long-established and successful no less than of other feeble schools is becoming more precarious. Funds collected long ago are being rapidly spent; while the clouds no longer rain down manna; and suicide threatens soon to be the only escape from a lingering death by starvation. Perhaps it is our want of knowledge that prevents us from discovering any remedy for this disease. If there is one available, it should be speedily applied. But if there is none, we look forward without regret to the consummation by this violent means of the desirable end. Some middle class schools will die; the whole number will be reduced; and we hope the quality of the survivors will be improved by the change. As each rural district can support only one school of the

higher class; there is no sound reason for the indiscriminate multiplication of schools of the middle class. The same principle applies to both cases.

We have hardly allowed ourselves space for the complete discussion of the third division of educational work. Elementary education holds a high place in national importance; and ought to be, if it is not, one of the first objects of Government.

That this has only lately begun to be true in Madras; that only the last two years have seen an active and systematic effort to improve elementary education, is more to the credit of those who saw the want and tried to supply it, than to the blame of a former generation who failed to discern the need. For even now the ground won is scarcely firm under our feet. Even the warmest advocates and most unhesitating supporters of a system of national education feel doubtful not of the right, but of the strength of their cause. The dread of a "reaction" from the present policy of advance in elementary education, that has found expression in the mouth of the most distinguished supporter of that policy, proves the reality of the danger. Reformers are too apt to overlook, but never to exaggerate the obstacles in their path. And if Mr. Arbuthnot feels bound to protest against a reaction, we may be sure that there are those who have the power and the will to react. That a policy of retrogression in education should still be possible; that there are still men who avow an antipathy to the spread of elementary knowledge, is only surprising to those who forget that in India no principles ever become recognized beyond dispute, and no policy approved above cavil. Just as it is still possible to hear officials in high places argue gravely in favour of a permanent settlement of the land revenue; so is it necessary to plead in favour of elementary education. Neither the experience nor the controversy of three-fourths of a century have sufficed to settle the first question. And as for the second, the unanimous voice of civilised Europe falls on deaf ears in India, when it urges that the time for darkness is past; and that now the light of education must everywhere be kindled. The axiom of the West is but a theory in the East. On educational questions Anglo-Indian opinion rises little above the level of the Somersetshire farmer or the Kentish boor. Much of this prejudice is of course directly due to the policy which proposes to treat India consistently and in all matters of government as a conquered country, to be held only by the strong arm. But even those who take a higher view; and revolt from the proposal to keep 180 millions of men in ignorance in order that cotton may be cheap in Manchester; even these find much to offend them in the recent course of educational progress in Madras, they think we have been going too fast; that the whip should be laid aside, and the

rein tightened ; lest the pace become furious and the team uncontrollable. To treat these objections, or rather these hesitations with light disregard, would be to maintain the ideal perfection of recent legislation ; and to deny the possibility of improvement in the present administration of elementary education. One thing only we would stipulate. In criticising the methods, let us never doubt about the aim of our policy. To waver in our allegiance to the cause of education is to prefer darkness to light ; and to range ourselves deliberately on the side of those who work, if they do not wish, ill for India.

Granted the axiom that elementary education is to be spread throughout all classes, we concede all liberty in the discussion of the ways and means. If all agree to work and walk towards the same goal, each may learn something from the other in the management of his journey thither.

Two main considerations have, we believe, prompted the reactionary feeling, which is undoubtedly afoot. One is the natural suspicion that attaches in India to any proceeding that savours of haste. This is the land of lotus-eaters ; and dreamful ease is the ideal of existence. The second cause of apprehension arises out of the introduction or revival—it matters not which—of the special form of direct taxation, the house-tax, by which elementary education is to be supported.

The first objection is of course one which can most effectually be met by practical proof of its groundlessness. When the objectors find that there is in fact no haste, nor unseemly pressure in developing elementary education, their opposition will cease.

And though we do not deny that in the first starting of the Local Funds Act some occasion was given to fear excessive haste ; the apprehension appears to have long lost all sufficient ground. It was natural that the first burst into what seemed a new country should be eager and excited. The terms in which the promoters spoke and wrote of the new policy were doubtless at times exaggerated. Everything was to be done with a mathematical precision, and a supernatural celerity that appalled sober Indian officials, who had never quickened their pace before out of a steady walk. The scheme too worked out so prettily on paper. Given a hundred square miles of unenlightened country. It was possible not only to calculate precisely how many schools were to be founded at the given distance from each other ; but the precise figure which each householder must contribute to the support of each school was as clear as x and y . And so Assistant Collectors went to work in all their youthful enthusiasm ; with a faith like that of Abbé Sièyes in his constitutions : like a Pope in the Vatican distributing kingdoms in the New World to the Most Christian King, or the Eldest Son of the Church.

At last these schemes of mathematical precision were completed, and passed on to the critical department ; but, strange to say, they have never reappeared ; and so complete has been their sterility that even their authors have ceased to believe in them. Thus the reaction came ; and having come, it promises to be for a time as exaggerated as was the fever fit of activity. But the excess of caution will doubtless correct itself just as the excess of haste has been corrected, and no more powerful remedy can be applied than a clear statement of the character and quantity of the work which is contemplated and undertaken in spreading elementary education. If those who dread haste discover that the progress is really slow ; and if the opponents of organic change learn that the development of the old is intended, rather than the introduction of the new, both classes of opponents will lose the basis and with it the desire of opposition.

It is strange that the highest authorities in educational matters should not have discerned this danger to the cause of elementary education ; or that having discerned, they should not have attempted to avert it. In fact the form which they give to their account of elementary education is directly calculated to excite opposition in those who apprehend excess of activity. The educational report for 1870-71 opens with the following flourish of trumpets. " The increase in the number of schools and scholars is unprecedented. There are 922 more schools than there were last year, and 19,980 more scholars." This represents an increase of more than 20 per cent in the total number of schools ; and of about 14 per cent in that of the scholars. And when it appears from the next paragraph of this report that " almost the whole of this increase arises from the spread of elementary education,"—what impression can possibly be conveyed to any reader than that the school-master is abroad with a vengeance ; and that the country has been flooded in one year with nearly a thousand more elementary teachers than it supported last year. There is no doubt that this is the impression under which readers without special knowledge rise from the reading of these reports. And yet the impression is altogether delusive. For these schools, so far from being new foundations, stand where schools of precisely the same class and character have stood ever since the races of Southern India passed into the intellectual condition in which we find them. While we number the years of the life of our English universities in India, these schools may probably count their centuries. How then does the Department of Education treat these schools as new foundations ? Simply by a species of egoism that makes the Department the centre of educational existence ; the hub of the whole world of schools.

Just as if a novice in astronomy should count every new star

of which he became conscious as a new creation ; should mistake the moment that it swims into his ken, for the first moment of the orb's existence ; so these educational authorities note down every school of whose existence they are made aware, as a new school, without an existence or a history before they found it. It is of course impossible to state precisely how many of these schools are really new ; that is, how many owe their existence to the actual support of the Educational Department, and not to the constant and unceasing demand for primary instruction that has existed for centuries in the rural districts of Southern India. Nor is the exact appreciation of the numbers particularly important ; if the broad fact be born in mind ; that a 'new school' in Educational parlance does not imply a school of modern foundation, but merely a school of whose existence the Educational Department became aware for the first time during last year. It is of course true that the existence of these schools is precarious. The local supply of scholars changes with the changing year ; and the village schoolmaster flits uneasily from place to place as his necessities drive and his interests lead him. It is, however, broadly true that while in every town or large village there will be several elementary schools always open, whether the Educational Department smiles or frowns, slumbers or wakes ; in the smaller villages the supply of elementary education is also pretty constant, not in the exact position, but in the average number of elementary schools.

All that the Educational Department does or can do is not to create, but to encourage by rewards and to improve by supervision ; and those who have watched the working of this branch of educational enterprise know best how strong is the jealousy of interference, and the independence of official control that the village schoolmaster opposes to well-intentioned efforts to improve elementary education.

It follows that, if this explanation of the existing state of things is accurate, the apprehension of excessive haste, which deters some men from approval of the reorganisation of the educational system, is groundless. The promoters of the Local Funds Act did something to occasion this alarm ; the educational officers have done more by the inaccuracy of the description of the work they are doing. So far from the country being covered with new schools ; so far from the mass of the people being educated against their will ; very little change or progress has taken place in elementary education. The only increase has been in the number of inspecting officers ; and time must be given to allow any appreciable result of their work to make itself apparent.

With the other cause of apprehension to the opponents of the Local Fund system we cannot as yet deal effectually. Exceptions are taken to the measure on purely sentimental grounds ; the

unpopularity of a house-tax ; and the unwisdom of forcing education upon people who resent it.

Sentiment indeed is in matters of taxation real and substantial ; and sentimental objections are by no means lightly to be disregarded. But it is idle to attempt to argue men into a love of taxation. The only thing to be done is to ask them to wait until they have tried the tax. If it is then felt to be burdensome in the faintest degree by any class ; if its results are not recognised to be beneficial out of all comparison with the severity of the burden to be borne ; then will be the time for the objectors to triumph : and for less offensive sources of income to be opened. Meanwhile the expenditure of declamation against oppressive taxation is mere sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Perhaps the most disappointing feature of the latest educational report is the scantiness of the information as to the working of the new system. It is of primary importance to know how the influence of Local Fund Boards has made itself felt in educational matters. Whether strength or weakness has resulted from this introduction of a new and unofficial element into the administration. What few indications are apparent of the relations that exist between the Boards and the Director of Public Instruction are not very encouraging. Indications are not wanting of unruly dispositions in these young and inexperienced bodies, who desire to deal with the educational questions that come before them upon principles based upon their own ideas of the eternal fitness of things ; tempered by what they are pleased to call 'local conditions' ; a system that can only lead eventually to mishaps and general confusion. If, however, the Director finds Local Fund Boards unruly, he has only himself to thank for his embarrassment. The course marked out for him by the Act and rules that embodied the Local Funds' system was expressly designed to secure for him a position of authority and independence.

Just as the Board of Revenue is by that system regarded as the referee and controller of all local schemes and agencies relating to public works ; just as the Sanitary Commissioner for the Presidency is the referee in matters of conservancy and sanitation ; so was the Director of Public Instruction intended to stand between the Local Boards and the Government, which must eventually decide the general principles on which elementary education is to be managed. It is as ridiculous that in matters educational the Local Fund Boards should disregard the highest educational authority in the Presidency, as it would be for them to attempt to take out of the hands of the proper authorities, the Engineers and the Board of Revenue, the management of the public works.

The attempt is absurd ; and the results must be disastrous. But no little opportunity has been given for this assumption of authority by

the Local Boards by the want of strength in the educational officers. They should no more submit to the crotchets and crudities of an untrained and ignorant body in technical matters of education, than they would accept their decision on questions of scholarship. In either case the probabilities are in favour of knowledge; and on no considerations should experience yield to ignorance, however loud-voiced and positive may be its self-assertion.

It is not only on account of the superiority of the experience possessed by educational officers that we urge the necessity of their taking a high and authoritative tone in the control of their work; it is also because we have seen enough already of the action of Local Fund Boards to mistrust their wisdom. Such proposals as that which raised the so-called 'caste difficulty'—a proposal to exclude non-caste boys from the Local Fund schools—a proposal, that is, that the rich shall contribute nothing towards the education of the poor—indicate a spirit of narrow prejudice, and selfishness, which on the plea of 'local conditions' might cripple the power for good of the educational agencies in a whole province. The fact is that in matters of education the Local Fund Boards have mistaken their position altogether. They are merely the local advisers of the Educational Department; and the local supervisors of the subordinate agents of that Department. And it is mere presumption in them to tamper with the general principles on which the work of that department is conducted; and to set up their ignorance in opposition to the knowledge of trained and experienced men. For when they find themselves face to face with the difficult problems that have as yet been barely touched—the establishment of Training schools for primary school-masters, the supply of such masters, and the principles upon which elementary schools are to be supported—when they have to choose whether the system of payment by results or of salaries is suitable to Union schools—in dealing with these and similar questions, if Local Fund Boards are to act upon their ideas of "local conditions;" the management of elementary education will arrive at a condition of chaos and night profound. Self-government is an excellent thing, but not if it means government at hap-hazard, and a system under which a few members of a community, without special knowledge or training, sit down to work out problems of government by their own scanty lights and without aid from those who have special knowledge and experience.

We have indicated and can scarcely do more, the more important questions of the time that affect the future of elementary education. Of these perhaps the most pressing is that depending on the application of the system of payments by results to the support of village schools. There is a logical perfection about the Results system that makes men so enamoured of its excellencies, that they fail wholly to see its defects. The security against

imposture; the certainty that nothing but good work can win a good reward under this system; and that no man can succeed in keeping a school, while teaching nothing to his scholars—these advantages make men forget that the iron rigidity of its rules may bruise while it tries; and that circumstances may exist in which it may repress rather than encourage the spread of elementary education.

Given a flourishing and populous district where there is no lack of schools, because there are plenty of scholars; and the results system will be an excellent instrument for testing the quality, and for securing the soundness of the elementary education supplied in those schools. But when we change the locality and find ourselves in a thinly populated district, of few and small villages of poor struggling cultivators; it is by no means clear that our educational management can safely be based on the same principles of inflexible rigour. The results system might have the effect of starving more than it feeds. It is enough for us to indicate the possibility of this, without positively asserting it. Special knowledge and experience must decide such a question; and local knowledge will not of course be without its value. For while we deprecate the spirit in which some Local Fund Boards have endeavoured to walk independently of their legitimate guides, and to trust their own empirical conclusions rather than the experience of trained educationalists, we are most ready to recognise the value of the services which it is in the power of these Boards to render, by an effective and vigilant supervision of the local operations of the educational officers. The gross frauds which have recently been exposed in the western division of the Presidency; the wholesale misappropriation of money by the subordinate agents; and the purely fictitious results which were adduced to support the expenditure, and accepted by the highest local officers of the Education Department; scandals of this kind will probably become almost impossible under a system which interests so many independent and respectable persons in guarding against local abuses. For these evils arise wholly from the deficiency of control by Inspectors of schools; who must be Argus-eyed as well as ubiquitous if they are to keep their crowd of subordinates in proper check throughout their enormous ranges. One of the most crying needs of the Educational Department is an increase in the number of Inspectors. The lower ranks of the department have been so strengthened that they fairly cover the ground. But Inspectors have still enormous ranges, covering 20 or 30,000 square miles; of which they make one painful circuit each year, and find it next to impossible to leave this fixed route, even if their presence in any particular place is urgently required; for fear that some part of their range would be left altogether unvisited during the year. But even this yearly visit is wholly inadequate, if an

Inspector is to be held responsible for the efficiency of his schools. A clever master knowing long before-hand the approximate date of the inspector's visit, can prepare his boys with a hasty polish, till they shine like the well-rubbed handcuffs in a police station prepared for the superintendent's visit. And then for the rest of the year he relapses into torpor, and prepares himself for some service examination, only disturbed by a no less rare and as well foretold visit from the Deputy Inspector. This might all be changed by a considerable reduction in the area of the Inspectors' ranges—a measure which while it increased the efficiency of their supervision of schools of the higher and middle classes, would also enable them to see more than they now do of the lower class schools and elementary education. The deputy inspectors are a fairly efficient body of men, but not remarkable for strenuous exertion or strict supervision. They are generally men with a grievance, hankering after some other line of employment and more substantial rewards. Nor is their discontent altogether groundless. A system of management which always succeeds in making a man's salary about half what it might be, and which grudges every increase, however long the service, and however hard the work, is certain to disgust the ambitious, and to discourage the industrious. It treats the good and bad with equal thanklessness, and effectually secures extreme unpopularity to every rank of the service to which it is applied.

We cannot close this review of the position of educational questions without noticing the recent loss that has befallen the interests of education in the retirement from public service of Mr. A. J. Arbuthnot, C.S.I. A long and honourable term of service carried him to the highest position that an Indian Civilian can reach; but his reputation in Madras will be founded not on what he was, but on what he did; and chiefly on the good work that marked his tenure of the post of Director of Public Instruction, and which he carried forward as Chief Secretary and Member of Council. To say that Mr. Arbuthnot was the most eminent and able man that Madras has seen for many years would be to challenge a comparison of him with others who have excelled by wholly different powers, and walked in very different paths. It is better to point to the contrast between the condition of education when he left the country last year, and that in which he found it fifteen years ago. The improvement that marks the developed system of university, colleges, and schools, is probably more directly due to the labours of Mr. Arbuthnot than of any other individual in Southern India. And if in those labours he was aided by many able workers; when he advanced to the legislation that alone could complete and confirm the educational edifice, by providing a constant supply of material support for elementary education—when he took in

hand the Local Funds' Act, he found himself almost alone. His old colleagues and assistants fell away, and not merely cold murmurs of doubt and suspicion, but loud cries of opposition met him, where he should have expected to find an impartial and calm, if not a sympathetic audience. That controversy is, for the present at least, over, and it is not well to revive it. That time will strengthen and justify the Local Fund legislation, and experience prove the emptiness of the alarm that those measures have excited we entertain very little doubt. But so strong has been the temporary ill-will that that legislation won for its author; and so personal in its direction against the promoter of the measure rather than against the measure itself; that hardly a sincere word of regret was uttered when Mr. Arbuthnot left the country. Such a spirit is discreditable to the Presidency, which should have been grateful to its most useful official; and to the Service, which should have been proud of its most eminent member.

In the little Pedlington society of India there is no such thing as public opinion; and a man's social and personal defects may mar his public life, and his official reputation. Only when the personal elements are removed from the analysis of his character; when those who judge him can see the results of his work apart from the manner of the man; then will he receive his meed of fame or its opposite.

If those who disparage the recent legislation for the support and spread of education, found their criticisms on a contempt for the object aimed at; they are fighting against light and knowledge, and their refutation is written on their premises. If, however, they approve the end aimed at, and only disapprove of the methods followed, it remains their task to develop a better system, which by more perfect instruments shall effect the desired object of spreading education. The reaction, that Mr. Arbuthnot seemed to dread, is impossible. It remains for those in power to-day to decide in favour of wavering in action, or of wise and steady progress.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]
OUR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIAN
POPULATIONS.

(III.)—ITS DYNAMICS.

The measure of utterly abolishing the army and replacing it by a police will give effect to the longings which have arisen everywhere in Europe and above all in France.

* * * * *

In France, as an indispensable preliminary to this measure, it becomes necessary to signalise the advent of peace by a righteous restitution of Algeria to the Arabs. It would be impossible to maintain our rule there after this suppression of the French army. But quite apart from this consideration, the dominion of that country is utterly incompatible with the reconstruction of society in France. For this oppression was instituted and extended not without great cost with the express objects of reviving a propensity to warfare, of cultivating in foreign parts a ferocity destined for service at home, and above all of corrupting the central population of the West, to the end that they might be diverted from social aspirations by thus accepting an interest in a retrograde tyranny.

COMTE, Polit. Posit. iv., 419.

PROCEEDING with the dynamics of the sea-borne trade of India, I resume the exports in alphabetical order at that point of my tabular retrospect where my last article ended.

It will be seen by a reference to the schedule in the last chapter that the exports of JUTE have increased from £196,936 during 1850-51 to £2,577,552 during 1870-71. This is one of the few features of the enhanced trade upon which one can dwell with satisfaction. For the country in which jute is raised consists of those rich alluvial tracts of Eastern Bengal which in 1793 were assessed to land-tax permanently and, as it happened, moderately in comparison with other regions of Bengal and India. It is thus that the fertile lands on the Brahmaputra and the Ganges have had the advantage of escaping that rigorous taxation which is withering so many other portions of India. Moreover, apart from the privilege in respect to our land-tax, these alluvial meadows are cultivated by a population mostly Musalman in faith, a population therefore whose proprietary institutions, based on the jurisprudence of the Koran, afford little foothold for those incessant expedients of embarrassed Chancellors which fall so heavily on Hindu joint-family tenures moulded according to the Shastras. In another series of articles on "*Our Religious Embarrassments in India*," I shall describe incidentally how it was that fluvial Bengal came to be so rapidly converted to Islam, and how it happens that the Muhammadan peasantry enjoys so much more immunity than the Hindu does from the exactions of a foreign tax-gatherer and from the aggressions of a native farmer-general of land-tax. On the same occasion I shall give a systematic

exposition of that process of sub-infeudation in Eastern Bengal, which is now vexing our administration and is yet destined to baffle it.

For the present, this vast and rapid progress of jute exportation from a fifth to two and a half millions sterling (to say nothing of other staples from the fen lands of the Podda and the Megna), will give some idea of that increasing fund of rental in which the everlasting process of sub-leasing originates. Turning now from the prosperity of the natives who as rent-receivers or as rent-payers have to do with the raising of jute, I must glance for a moment at the recent ill-luck in consignments which has befallen so many English exporters of that article. This result, at first sight so curious, is in reality typical of the general unsoundness of our Indian business for several years back. It arises mainly from the fact that our merchants, finding but little encouragement on the imports side of their business, have turned too eagerly and too numerously to the standard staples of exportation in order to retrieve their disappointments; and have thus been betrayed into an ill-considered competition with each other to the general disadvantage of all shippers of such produce.* There are other circumstances also which have contributed to this untoward state of things. For example there has been undue subsidising of business by Indian banks, both inland and foreign,—banks which have been constituted or extended on erroneous calculations as to the real tendency of Indian industries. Such miscalculations on the part of Bank shareholders, need not surprise us when we see how ignorantly the highest officials of State in India and the India Office will manipulate statistics of what they call *commercial* exports and imports. But the most important of all the circumstances which have led to the recent overtrading in Indian exports has been that which I have just noticed, the unfavourable experience of the import side of their business. This again brings us back to the consideration that the reason why the natives are thus proving but poor buyers is because their means are being so muddled away in mere taxes, taxes onerous in their amount, harassing in their nature, and injurious directly and indirectly to the welfare of the people.

The next article is OPIUM. As regards the history of our opium business I had rather spare myself and my readers the shameful chapter of our misdeeds in China during these twenty years down to our recent ignominious and happily abortive negotiations over the revision of the Treaty of Tientsin.

* Whence arise those violent fluctuations which occur nowadays in Indian trade and defeat the shrewdest calculations?—From these three circumstances; 1st, that Indian industry is being unnaturally forced, 2nd, that it is being limited to few staples, 3rd, that those staples consist of raw produce unwrought.

The next subject to be noticed is the stagnation of the SALT-PETRE trade. £369,543 worth was exported in 1850-51, £440,554 in 1870-71, and the profits on the business have been even less than these stationary figures indicate. Saltpetre is one of those staples which have been all but killed by the insensate exactions of our Indian ministers of finance since the mutiny. Apart from these burdens the industry has always been subjected to disadvantage by a constant jealousy of the salt-tax officials lest the labourers should dare to eat or to give to others such impure salt as is thrown up from the soil by incrustation.

But, as I have just said, the most fatal depression of all has been the system of enormous export duties which were begun in 1860, even by a minister so experienced as Mr. Wilson. (So little does even the greatest ability avail to ensure decent administration: "*our government of India is in its best state a grievance.*") Indian saltpetre was thereby so enhanced in cost that chemists in Europe set to work to devise a substitute. Accordingly a nitrate from South America (where the tax-gatherer is less mischievous than in Behar) has been made to yield that which used to be furnished from the valley of the Ganges with advantage both to producer and to consumer. The Government of India, yielding at length to remonstrances, made occasional concessions so as to permit the trade to revive, but as usual with such blunders in India, the remissions came too late. It stands upon official record that many natives who formerly found useful employment in gathering saltpetre have been robbed of their livelihoods and of their very lives by this bread-filching of ours which we choose to call taxation. (Compare page 4, Parliamentary Blue Book on the Behar Famine of 1865-66). And no one has been even blamed for all this!

The wretched Many bent beneath their loads
Do gape at pageant power, nor recognise
Their cots' transmuted plunder,

It is some slight consolation to reflect that when once the industrial pursuits of India are relieved from the incubus of our domination, and receive—not such "encouragement" as that of our Agricultural and Commercial Departments,—but simply fair play and decent justice, under a Government less costly and less restless than the present, there will be few articles of commerce yielding more prompt or more assured profits than this staple of Indian saltpetre which has suffered so cruelly at the hands of English misrule.

In 1850-51 (oil)—SEEDS—Linseed, Rape, &c.,—were exported to the amount of £339,514, in 1870-71 to the amount of £3,522,305. This increase is a matter for congratulation, in some instances of rich soil and advantageous conditions of life such as I have pointed out in reference to the jute of Eastern Bengal.

But taking all India together we find some painful drawbacks to this satisfaction.

The most fashionable explanation of the tenfold increase in oil-seeds during these twenty years is that it was at the time of the Russian war, while Baltic and Euxine produce was being excluded from Western Europe, that the trade in seeds obtained its chief start in India. With our official and semi-official annalists the Russian war is a favourite *deus ex machina* in ordinary for explaining the enhanced figures of all Indian trade between 1850 and 1860. These people have a profound belief in "*commerce united with and made to flourish by war*;" indeed, with them warfare and destruction rank but little after mortgage and taxation as the proper fosterers of Indian industry. It is true that the closing of the Baltic did produce a great effect on the growth of Indian oil-seeds immediately before the exporting season of 1854-55, the only year when any such influence can be decisively affirmed, and this impulse doubtless continued to last for some little time after. But it is simply preposterous to allege that a war which was finished in 1855 proceeded thereafter to make a deeper and deeper impress on the raising of linseed and rapeseed throughout India during each of the following 15 years. If a foreign influence is to be looked for in these later years, a more potent and durable one will be found in taxation frequently increased in area and constantly increased in rate throughout the 20 years under review.

Tabular statements professing to demonstrate Indian prosperity by collated statistics of the seed-trade may impose on a doctrinaire or an optimist at home, but not on one who has any real acquaintance with Indian husbandry. In point of fact over many tracts of India the progress in seeds represents as it were a second crop taken off a soil which thus and otherwise has been unduly tried in each of these 20 years. Linseed, rapeseed, and teelseed or gingelly are among the peculiar favourites of the village loan-monger. The loan-monger (the *bunnea* of Northern, the *mahajan* of Central, and the *sowcar* or *sahukar* of Southern India) is an object of most persistent obloquy with our self-satisfied and comfortable officials, notwithstanding the fact that without his assistance the treasuries could not be filled year by year with taxes. For the usurer is the indispensable functionary who intermediates between the Hindu cultivator, on the one hand, and, on the other, the English tax-collector with his various subordinates, especially the *zemindar* or the *tehsildar*. While the Hindu cultivator acts for his household, the English Collector likewise acts for his principals, namely, that Anglo-Indian plutocracy in whose behalf India is farmed out like the great coffee plantation of Java. Oil-seeds are one of those exports to which in most cases the *ryot* has betaken himself not because he has been growing more prosperous, but

because he has become harder and harder pressed. For the time it is certainly a very nice thing for certain interested sections of the English people that India should thus be made to furnish lubricants for iron machinery in English towns and oil-cake fattening for steers in English farms. Yet one cannot help wishing that, whether from oil-seeds or from any other of those crops which though really more needed in India are in many places being deteriorated or suppressed on behalf of exportable oil-seeds, a little more lubricant could be retained for the enfeebled human muscle in Indian households, and a little more fodder retained for the degenerating cattle in Indian yards.

If the English reader would realise in its full painfulness what is the actual state of things that is betokened by most of the vaunted progresses in the export staples of India, let him endeavour to conceive a state of things under which his country should be governed by the Chinese in the same way as India is by the English. Let him conceive how things would be felt at home if the ordinary English farmer had to part with the finer kinds of grain to a foreign consumer and had to feed both his family and his cattle upon the coarser crops. Under such a *régime* would not man and beast gradually degenerate in physique? What wonder if at last man and beast were to breed new and appalling forms of disease like cholera and rinderpest, forms rapidly aggravating in virulence to the degree of excessive contagiousness? * What wonder if the English native were to fail of being convinced by the export statistics of some M. P. for a cluster of boroughs in Manchoo Tartary, who, as Under-Secretary at the Britannia Office in Pekin, "with many holiday and

* Further enquiry about the cattle epidemic in Europe and Asia will probably disclose that rinderpest like cholera comes originally from British India, and that the one like the other is a product of our taskmastership. It is only within the area, and it is only within the period of our exploiting the human and the other live stocks of India that cholera certainly and probably rinderpest have arisen at all, or at least have been aggravated into virulent epidemics. Beyond all doubt it is only in India and only within a recent period in India that cholera, as we know it, has become established as an epidemic. If, through some curse on the human race our dominion in India were to be indefinitely prolonged, it might evolve yet other and grander pestilences like the

successive plagues of Egypt which should avenge oppression upon its innocent victims, upon its guilty authors and upon its conniving spectators. As the true history of cholera becomes better known in Europe, it will become more and more an object of general concern to the human race that the English should retire or be driven from India. Meanwhile remedial treatment is of little avail with cholera or rinderpest in India. For the one supreme requisite of all is that man and beast should have enough of good food to eat. But a wholesome diet in sufficiency is the very condition of life which from decade to decade our rule is necessarily precluding more and more throughout this Empire.

lady terms" assured the distant British farmer that all this was prosperity?

"A certain man (preaching to the deaf) described the peasants as wearing a pain-stricken look, a look past complaint as if the oppression of the great were like the hail and the thunder, a thing irremediable, the ordinance of nature! And these people pay the taxes! And now you want to take cesses from them! And you know not what it is that you are stripping barer, or as you call it governing, what by the spurt of your pen in its cold dastard indifference, you fancy you can starve always with impunity; always—till the catastrophe come! Ah! Madame! Such government by blind-man's-buff, stumbling along too far, will end in the general overturn.

"A traveller walking up hill, bridle in hand, overtakes a poor woman, the image as such commonly are of drudgery and scarcity, looking 60 years of age though she is not yet 28. She has rents and quitrents; hens to pay to this seigneur, oatsacks to that; King, taxes, statute labour, church taxes, taxes enough; and thinks the times *inexpressible*. She has heard that somewhere, somehow, something is to be done for the poor. God send it soon, says she, for the dues and taxes crush us down."

The next staple to be examined is SILK. This has suffered the usual fate of all native manufactures under British rule. It so happens that a special memoir on Indian silk has lately been published by the Under-Secretary of the new Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce. Mr. Geoghegan has executed his melancholy task with care and judgment, which, however, fail to render his annals of industrial servitude and commercial decay other than extremely depressing to the reader. Altogether the volume is an excellent specimen of the least mischievous work to which that new and useless department can devote itself, but it suggests feelings of regret that the talents of this particular writer should be frittered away on such employment at all. It is unfortunate and perhaps significant that an author so judicious has not volunteered any explanation of his own as to how it has come to pass that during the last hundred years the silk industry of India has made so little progress, nay has in reality receded.

The exports of raw silk from India were valued at £619,319 in 1850-51, and at £1,351,346 in 1870-71. The difference represents mainly a rise in price occasioned by the more extensive consumption and demand in Europe and America during these two decades of a wonderful increase of riches throughout Western society. The quantities exported in the earlier years of the period are not to be found in the defective compilation of the Financial Department from which I have been quoting in this article. I

am indebted to Mr. Geoghegan's memoir for the following figures which supply the defect in respect of the silk of Bengal, by far the most important province of all.

Period.		Average exports in lbs.	
From	1838-39 to 1841-42	...	1,384,242
"	1842-43 " 1845-46	...	1,555,130
"	1846-47 " 1850-51	...	1,290,024
"	1851-52 " 1855-56	...	1,511,506
"	1856-57 " 1860-61	...	1,511,768
"	1861-62 " 1865-66	...	1,485,763
"	1866-67 " 1870-71	...	1,558,246

Mr. Geoghegan justly remarks on the fact that while the exports from Bengal have been almost stationary, those of China and Japan have increased to an enormous extent.

But these figures, disheartening as they are, refer to raw silk only, and they disclose nothing of the far more lamentable decline of the manufactured article. The industries of silk weaving and silk dyeing have been all but extinguished since the accession of the English to empire in India. Mr. Geoghegan makes occasional allusions to the fact, as thus; "The industry still exists about Maldah and English Bazar, but in a languishing condition. "The aspect of the town of old Maldah is that of the dreariest "decay." (p. 16.) At a few lines below this passage occurs the following sketch of the domestic industries of Assam extracted from an old description of the country which had been written in the days when that province had not yet come under the beneficent sway of the English. "The native women of all castes, "from the queen downwards, weave the four kinds of silk that "are produced in the country and with which three-fourths of "the people are clothed.* Considerable quantities of the two coarser "kinds are also exported. There may be one loom for every two "women, and in great families there are eight or ten which are "wrought by the slave girls. The raw material is seldom purchased; each family spins and weaves the silk which it rears, and "petty dealers go round and purchase for ready money whatsoever can be spared for exportation, or for the use of the few "persons who wear none of their own." Again in a footnote Mr. Geoghegan gives the following suggestive lines: "Mr. Holwell, writing in 1759, mentions six kinds of cloth and raw silk as "being exported from Nattore (in Rajshahye, Bengal,) both to "Europe and to the markets of Bussora, Mocha, Judda, Pegu, "Acheen, and Malacca."

* A similar description of cotton spinning as a domestic occupation of all classes of women would have applied over the greater part of India before our time.

It is certain that silk has been wrought in India from the very earliest periods ; and, if the origin of it were a question admitting of useful discussion, it might be urged that it is at least as likely that the silkworm, like certain intellectual products of Hindu civilisation, was carried eastward from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang, as that it came westward from China into India. Thus there is one important species of the undomesticated insect which is certainly indigenous to this country, and its Sanskrit name *tasar* or tusser (also meaning shuttle or so to speak the "shuttle-worm : " "the shuttle-worm's web") was once a familiar term of European merchandise. So also the principal domesticated species is called the *deshi* or the country insect. The names of the social classes connected with silk, names which appear among very ancient enumerations of the castes, go to prove the same thing. A still more convincing proof of the extreme antiquity of Indian sericulture will be found in the fact that the most critical industrial processes in silk rearing had been subjected to a systematic *régime* of theocratic ritual. Mr. Geoghegan glances at the common theory of silk having been originated in China and having been imported from there into India, but he very sensibly puts aside the question of the origin of the industry as of little importance in comparison with that of its progress.

To us at present the really important fact about Indian silk is this. It has been left for the rapacity, for the well-intentioned rapacity, of conquistadores from England to maim an industry which had been reared under the Henri Quatres, the Colberts, and the Vaucansons of Hindustan. It has remained for Pizarros from England to undo a manufacture which had been cherished by the statesmanship of Hindu Rajas, disciplined by the wisdom of Hindu priests, and fostered by the zeal of Muhammadan Nawabs. Finally the manufacture now maintains but a precarious footing, and that only in those provinces which are jungly and outlying or in those territories which have been but recently annexed, and which have, therefore, not yet attained the full benefit of English civilisation and English free trade. "*The Tartar invasions were mischievous, but it is our protection that is ruining India.*"

It will be for a future annalist to trace the details of this melancholy process. Meanwhile Mr. Geoghegan has produced in original and in a form convenient for ready reference all the stock explanations of English writers on the subject. These are of the usual kind, namely, this or that turpitude of natives which though described as inherent in them has strangely come into prominence only in the last century during which the English have happened to be ruling the country. This explanation seems to have given little satisfaction to Mr. Geoghegan himself,

for after the most careful research he remarks on the extraordinary scantiness of tangible information about the successive steps of the decline. Unfortunately, he seems to have overlooked the most reliable of all the treatises on the silk and the other industries of India, that of Burke, in his Ninth Report.

Among the various disturbing influences that have dislocated every native manufacture there are two, described by Burke, that have inflicted almost irreparable injuries on Indian silk. These two have been, first, the *investment* system of the last century, that is to say, the monopoly or pre-emption resorted to by our Government in order to levy the English tribute; second, the systematic efforts of our Government to discourage the manufacture of the wrought material and to stimulate the production of the raw article, all for the benefit of a few silk capitalists in England, some of them members of the House of Commons itself.

These two influences are described in the following extracts from the Ninth Report of 1783 :—

“ Manufactured Silk.

“WHAT happened with regard to raw silk is still more remarkable, and tends still more clearly to illustrate the effects of commercial servitude during its unchecked existence, and the consequences which may be made to arise from its suddenly attempted reformation. On laying open the trade, the article of raw silk was instantly enhanced to the Company full 80 per cent. The contract for that commodity, wound off in the Bengal method, which used to sell for less than six rupees, or thirteen shillings, for two pounds weight, arose to nine rupees, or near twenty shillings, and the filature silk was very soon after contracted for at fourteen.

“The presidency accounted for this rise by observing, that the price had before been *arbitrary*, and that the persons who purveyed for the Company paid no more than ‘ what was *judged* sufficient for the maintenance of the first providers.’ This fact explains more fully than the most laboured description can do, the dreadful effects of the previous monopoly on the cultivators. They had the *sufficiency* of their maintenance measured out by the judgment of those who were to profit by their labour; and this measure was not a great deal more, by their own account, than about two-thirds of the value of that labour. In all probability it was much less, as these dealings rarely passed through intermediate hands without leaving a considerable profit. These oppressions, it will be observed, were not confined to the Company’s share, which however covered a great part of the trade; but as this was an article permitted to the servants, the same power of arbitrary valuation must have been extended over the whole, as the market must be equalized if any authority at all is extended over it by those who have an interest in the restraint. The price was not only raised, but in the manufactures the quality was debased nearly in an equal proportion.

The Directors conceived with great reason, that this rise of price and debasement of quality arose not from the effect of a free market, but from the servants having taken that opportunity of throwing upon the market of their masters the refuse goods of their own private trade at such exorbitant prices as by mutual connivance they were pleased to settle. The mischief was greatly aggravated by its happening at a time when the Company were obliged to pay for their goods with bonds bearing a high interest.

"The perplexed system of the Company's concerns, composed of so many opposite movements and contradictory principles, appears nowhere in a more clear light. If trade continued under restraint, their territorial revenues must suffer by checking the general prosperity of the country : if they set it free, means were taken to raise the price and debase the quality of the goods ; and this again fell upon the revenues, out of which the payment for the goods was to arise.

* * * * *

"In the mortifying dilemma to which the Directors found themselves reduced, whereby the ruin of the revenues either by the freedom or the restraint of trade was evident, they considered the first as most rapid and urgent : and therefore they once more revert to the system of their ancient pre-emption, and destroy that freedom, which they had so lately and with so much solemnity proclaimed, and that before it could be abused or even enjoyed. They declare that, 'unwilling as we are to return to the *former coercive system* of providing an investment, or to abridge that freedom of commerce which has been so lately established in Bengal, yet at the same time finding it our indispensable duty to strike at the root of an evil, which has been so severely felt by the Company, and which can no longer be supported, we hereby direct, that all persons whatever in the Company's service, or *under our protection*, be absolutely prohibited, by public advertisement, from trading in any of those articles which compose our investment, directly or indirectly, except on account of and for the East India Company, until their investment is completed.'

"As soon as this order was received in Bengal, it was construed, as indeed the words seemed directly to warrant, to exclude all natives, as well as servants, from the trade, until the Company was supplied. The Company's pre-emption was now authoritatively re-established, and some feeble and ostensible regulations were made to relieve weavers who might suffer by it.

* * * * *

"The spirit of increasing the investment from revenue at any rate and the resolution of driving all competitors, Europeans or natives, out of the market, prevailed at a period still more early, and prevailed not only in Bengal, but seems, more or less, to have diffused itself through the whole sphere of the Company's influence. In 1768 they gave to the Presidency of Madras the following memorable instruction strongly declaratory of their general system of policy.

" 'We shall depend upon your prudence (say they) to discourage foreigners ; and, being intent, as you have been repeatedly acquainted,

on bringing home as great a part of the revenues as possible in your manufactures, the outbidding them in those parts, where they interfere with you, would certainly prove an effectual step for answering that end. We therefore recommend it to you to offer such increase of price as you shall deem may be consistently given; that by beating them out of the market the quantities by you to be provided may be proportionably enlarged; and if you take this method, it is to be so cautiously practised as not to enhance the prices in the places immediately under your control. On this subject we must not omit the approval of your prohibiting the weavers of Cuddalore from making up any cloth of the same assortments that are provided for us; and if such prohibition is not now, it should by all means be in future, *made general and strictly maintained.*'

"This system must have an immediate tendency towards disordering the trade of India, and must finally end in great detriment to the Company itself. The effect of the restrictive system on the weaver is evident. The authority given to the servants to buy at an advanced price did of necessity furnish means and excuses for every sort of fraud in their purchases. The instant the servant of a merchant is admitted, on his own judgment, to overbid the market, or to send goods to his master which shall sell at a loss, there is no longer any standard upon which his unfair practices can be estimated, or any effectual means by which they can be restrained. The hope, entertained by the Directors, of confining this destructive practice, of giving an enhanced price to a particular spot, must ever be found totally delusive. Speculations will be affected by this artificial price in every quarter in which markets can have the least communication with each other."

The Ninth Report is mainly devoted to the affairs of Bengal, and only incidentally glances at the affairs of Madras. But Burke has reviewed the industrial system of Southern India in a speech delivered on the subject of this very Report, a speech which in the new-fashioned cant of the present parliamenteers "was spoken from his place in the House."* On that occasion the same statesman (who, by the way, unlike to some of our leaders in our day, had understood aright the grand struggle of *his* day in America) described in words never answered nor answerable the deplorable effects of our accession to empire in Asia, how society became disorganised, how the once flourishing though simple industries of silk and of cotton received those fatal injuries from which even to this day they have not and could not have recovered.

"It is only to complete the view I proposed of the conduct of the Company with regard to the dependent provinces, that I shall say anything at all of the Carnatic, which is the scene if possible of greater disorder than the Northern Provinces. Perhaps it were better to say of

* As if a member of Parliament cannot find a better audience than who has anything worth saying that round the mace bauble.

this centre and metropolis of abuse, whence all the rest in India and in England diverge, from whence they are fed and methodised; what was said of Carthage—*de Carthagine satius est silere quam parum dicere*. This country in all its denominations is about 46,000 square miles. It may be affirmed universally that not one person of substance or property, landed, commercial, or monied, excepting two or three bankers who are the necessary deposits and distributors of the general spoil, is left in all that region. In that country the moisture, the bounty of Heaven, is given, but at a certain season. Before the era of our influence, the industry of man carefully husbanded that gift of God. The Gentoos preserved with a provident and religious care the precious deposit of the periodical rain in reservoirs, many of them works of royal grandeur; and from these, as occasion demanded, they fructified the whole country. To maintain these reservoirs and to keep up an annual advance to the cultivators formed a principal object of the priests and rulers of the Gentoo religion.

“This object required a command of money; and there was no pollam (or castle) which in the happy days of the Carnatic was without some hoard of treasure, by which the governors were enabled to combat with the irregularity of the seasons and to resist or to buy off the invasion of an enemy. In all the cities were multitudes of merchants and bankers for all occasions of monied assistance; and on the other hand the native princes were in a condition to obtain credit from them. The manufacturer was paid by the return of commodities or by imported money, and not as at present in the taxes that had been originally exacted from his industry. In aid of casual distress the country was full of choultries, which were inns and hospitals where the traveller and the poor were relieved. All ranks of people had their place in the public concern and their share in the common stock and common prosperity; but the ‘chartered rights of men’ and the right which it was thought proper to set up in the [name of] the Nabob of Arcot, introduced a new system. *It was their policy to consider hoards of money as crimes; to regard moderate rents as frauds on the Sovereign; and to view in the lesser princes any claim of exemption from more than settled tribute as an act of rebellion. Accordingly all the castles were one after another plundered and destroyed. The native princes were expelled; the hospitals fell to ruin; the reservoirs of water went to decay; the merchants, bankers and manufacturers disappeared; and sterility, indigence, and depopulation overspread the face of these once flourishing provinces.*

“The Company was very early sensible of these mischiefs and of their true cause. They gave precise orders ‘that the native princes called polygars should not be *extirpated*.’ * * * It is now proper to compare these declarations with the Company’s conduct. The principal reason which they assigned against the *extirpation* of the polygars was that the *weavers* were protected in their fortresses. They might have added, that the Company itself which stung them to death had been warmed in the bosom of these unfortunate princes, for on the taking of Madras by the French, it was in their hospitable pollams that most of the inhabitants found refuge and protection. * * * Having, however, forgot all attention to the princes and the people,

they remembered that they had some sort of interest in the trade of the country; and it is a matter of curiosity to observe the protection which they afforded to this their natural object. Full of anxious cares on this head they direct 'that in reducing the polygars they (the Company's servants) were to be *cautious* not to deprive the *weavers and manufacturers* of the protection they often met with 'in the strongholds of the polygar countries,' and they write to their instrument, the Nabob of Arcot, concerning these poor people in a most pathetic strain:—'We *entreat* your Excellency (say they) in particular to make the manufacturers the object of your *tenderest care*, particularly when you *root out* the polygars, do not deprive the *weavers of the protection they enjoyed under them*.' When they root out the protectors in favour of the oppressed, they show themselves religiously cautious of the rights of the protected. When they extirpate the shepherd and the shepherd's dog, they piously recommend the helpless flock to the mercy and even to the *tenderest care* of the wolf. *This is the uniform strain of their policy, strictly forbidding, and at the same time strenuously encouraging and enforcing every measure that can ruin the country committed to their charge*''*

Before closing this narrative of the action of the pre-emption system of tribute levy, it is necessary to advert to one characteristic thereof which proved specially fatal to the silk weavers of Bengal. Mr. Geoghegan writes (page 4):—

"For 1781, military exigencies 'had absorbed' the provision made for investment in silk, and in order to keep up the factories and prevent the dispersion of the new trained workmen, it was resolved to throw open the trade in raw silk and to offer the Company's filatures on lease to 'adventurers.' The measure was not carried out till 1783, and in 1785 the exclusive trade was resumed and a yearly provision of 540,000 small pounds ordered. Owing, however, to calamities of season† this amount was in no year reached till 1793. * * * * From

* Macaulay has described a similar inconsistency in the instructions from the Home Government, an inconsistency which is by no means obsolete at the present day.

"The Directors, it is true, never 'enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts, in short an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. 'Govern leniently and send more money; practise strict moderation towards neighbouring powers and send more money.' Now these instructions being interpreted mean

"simply, 'Be the father and the oppressor of the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious.' The Directors dealt with India as the Church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown."

† I am sure Mr. Geoghegan has compiled accurately, but Query, seven successive years of uniformly bad weather? Certainly the weather has been made to answer for a great deal in India, *vide* modern reports on famines, on the failure of railway and road embankments *passim*,

1793 to 1808, the supply of silk from Bengal fluctuated within wide limits, as will be seen from the following table :—

Year.				lbs.
1793	...	...	...	769,873
1794	...	...	...	494,487
1795	...	...	...	392,527
1796	...	...	...	361,106
1797	...	...	...	88,219
1798	...	...	...	352,780
1799	...	...	...	645,421
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	

Thus the calamity to the weavers was not merely that they had to accept the remuneration fixed by an arbitrary, alien and hostile monopolist, but many of them might receive no remuneration at all. When one considers why it is that to an artisan's family desultoriness of employment is much more ruinous morally and otherwise than mere scantiness of wage is, one will have some idea of the misery inflicted on the weavers of Bengal in having to adapt themselves to these violent and reckless fluctuations of policy, these epileptic convulsions of a disordered finance.

With regard to the second class of injuries, from which up to this time Indian silk has not, because it could not have recovered, do not the following remarks (or shall I rather say misgivings?) of the Under-Secretary read like a chapter out of a similar fiscal chronicle in Ireland?

"On the acquisition of the dewanee, efforts were made to extend the cultivation of silk. The planting of mulberry was urged upon zemindars and landholders, and encouragement given for the clearing of land suited for this purpose. Apparently something stronger than persuasion was at this time brought into play in promoting the spread of sericulture, for the Court of Directors felt themselves constrained to warn the Government of Bengal that 'though there was no branch of this trade which they more ardently wished to extend than that of raw silk, yet they could not think of effecting so desirable an object by any measures that might be oppressive to the natives or attended by any infringement of that freedom, security, and felicity which it was desired they should enjoy under the Company's government and protection.' It was in the same despatch suggested that it should be made worth while to silk *weavers* to forsake that occupation and take to silk *winding*. In conformity with the instructions of the Court, an advertisement was published in 1772 inviting ryots to cultivate mulberry in addition to their actual holdings, and declaring that new or waste lands laid out or reclaimed for this purpose should be held rent-free for two years, and at half the pergunnah rate for the third year. This measure resulted in a large increase of exportations, but the silk being still badly reeled, the market became overstocked.

Nevertheless this point had not been overlooked by the Directors for 'they had in 1769 decided to introduce into Bengal the exact mode of winding practised in the filatures of Italy and other parts of the Continent,' and for this purpose had sent out three gentlemen, Messrs. Wiss, Robinson, and Aubert, assisted by a staff of reelers and mechanics chosen from Italy and France, and provided with tools, implements, and models, to enable them to set on foot in the Bengal filatures, the system pursued at Novi. M. Aubert died on the way out, but Messrs. Robinson and Wiss had arrived in Bengal," &c. &c. (pages 2, 3).

Burke, who in Ireland, his own native country, was well acquainted with a commercial servitude disguised as free trade, has described these very same proceedings in a narrative clearer than that of the Under-Secretary who has last been cited:—

"Raw Silk.

"THE trade in *raw silk* was at all times more popular in England than really advantageous to the Company. In addition to the old jealousy which prevailed between the Company and the manufactory interest of England, they came to labour under no small odium on account of the distresses of India. The public in England perceived, and felt with a proper sympathy, the sufferings of the Eastern Provinces in all cases in which they might be attributed to the abuses of power exercised under the Company's authority. But they were not equally sensible to the evils which arose from a system of sacrificing the being of that country to the advantage of this. They entered very readily into the former, but with regard to the latter were slow and incredulous. It is not therefore extraordinary that the Company should endeavour to ingratiate themselves with the public by falling in with its prejudices. Thus they were led to increase the grievance in order to allay the clamour. They continued still upon a larger scale, and still more systematically, that plan of conduct, which was the principal, though not the most blamable, cause of the decay and depopulation of the country committed to their care.

"With that view, and to furnish a cheap supply of materials to the manufactures of England, they formed a scheme, which tended to destroy, or at least essentially to impair, the whole manufacturing interest of Bengal. A policy of that sort could not fail of being highly popular; when the Company submitted itself as an instrument for the improvement of British manufactures, instead of being their most dangerous rival, as heretofore they had been always represented.

"They accordingly notified to their presidency in Bengal, in their letter of the 17th of March 1769, that 'there was no branch of their trade they more ardently wish to extend, than that of raw silk.' They disclaim, however, all desire of employing compulsory measures for that purpose, but recommended every mode of encouragement, and particularly by augmented wages, '*in order to induce manufacturers of wrought silk to quit that branch, and take to the winding of raw silk.*'

"Having thus found means to draw hands from the manufacture, and confiding in the strength of a capital drawn from the public revenues,

they pursue their ideas from the purchase of their manufacture to the purchase of the material in its crudest state. 'We recommend you to give an *increased price*, if necessary, *so as to take that trade out of the hands of other merchants and rival nations*.' A double bounty was thus given against the manufactures, both in the labour and in the materials.

"It is very remarkable in what manner their vehement pursuit of this object led the Directors to a speedy oblivion of those equitable correctives, before interposed by them, in order to prevent the mischiefs, which were apparent in the scheme, if left to itself. They could venture so little to trust to the bounties given from the revenues, a trade which had a tendency to dry up their source, that by the time they had proceeded to the 33rd paragraph of their letter, they revert to those very compulsory means which they had disclaimed but three paragraphs before. To prevent silk-winders from working in their private houses, where they might work for private traders, and to confine them to the Company's factories, where they could only be employed for the Company's benefit, they desire that the newly-acquired power of Government should be effectually employed. 'Should (say they) this practice, through *inattention*, have been suffered to take place again, it will be proper to put a stop to it, which may *now be more effectually done by an absolute prohibition, under severe penalties, by the authority of Government*.'

"This letter contains a perfect plan of policy, both of compulsion and encouragement, which must, in a very considerable degree, operate destructively to the manufactures of Bengal. *Its effect must be (so far as it could operate without being eluded) to change the whole face of that industrious country, in order to render it a field for the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain*. The manufacturing hands were to be seduced from their looms by high wages, in order to prepare a raw produce for our market; they were to be locked up in the factories; and the commodity acquired by these operations was, in this immature state, carried out of the country, whilst its looms would be left without any material but the debased refuse of a market enhanced in its price, and scantied in its supply. By the increase of the price of this and other materials, manufactures, formerly the most flourishing, gradually disappeared under the protection of Great Britain, and were seen to rise again and flourish on the opposite coast of India under the dominion of the Mahrattas.

"These restraints and encouragements seem to have had the desired effect in Bengal with regard to the diversion of labour from manufacture to materials. The trade of raw silk increased rapidly. But the Company very soon felt, in the increase of price and debasement of quality of the wrought goods, a loss to themselves, which fully counterbalanced all the advantages to be derived to the nation from the increase of the raw commodity."

* * * * *

The Directors declare themselves unable to understand how this could be. Perhaps it was not so difficult. But pressed as they

were by the greatness of their payments which they were compelled to make to Government in England, the cries of Bengal could not be heard among the contending claims of the General Court, of the Treasury, and of Spitalfields.

* * * *

“During the time of their struggles for enlarging this losing trade which they considered as a national object, what in one point of view it was, and if it had not been grossly mismanaged, might have been in more than one ;—in this part it is impossible to refuse to the Directors a very great share of merit ; no degree of thought, of trouble, or of reasonable expense, was spared by them for the improvement of the commodity. They framed with diligence, and apparently on very good information, a code of manufacturing regulations for that purpose ; and several persons were sent out conversant in the Italian method of preparing and winding silk, aided by proper machines for facilitating and perfecting the work. This, under proper care and in course of time, might have produced a real improvement to Bengal ; but, in the first instance, it naturally drew the business from native management, and it caused a revulsion from the trade and manufactures of India, which led as naturally and inevitably to a European monopoly, in some hands or other, as any of the modes of coercion which were or could be employed. The evil was present and inherent in the act. The means of letting the natives into the benefit of the improved system of produce was likely to be counteracted by the general ill-conduct of the Company’s concerns abroad. *For a while at least it had an effect still worse ; for the Company purchasing the raw cocoon, or silk-pod, at a fixed rate, the first producer, who, whilst he could wind at his own house employed his family in this labour, and could procure a reasonable livelihood by buying up the cocoons for the Italian filature, now incurred the enormous and ruinous loss of 50 per cent.* But for a long time, a considerable quantity of that in the old Bengal mode of winding was bought for the Company from contractors, and it continues to be so bought to the present time ; but the Directors complain, in their letter of the 12th of May 1780, that both species, and particularly the latter, had risen so extravagantly, that it was become more than 40 per cent. dearer than it had been fifteen years ago.

* * * *

“Thus, having found by experience, that this trade, whilst carried on upon the old principles (of whatever advantage it might have been to the British manufacturers, or to the individuals who were concerned in it in Bengal) had proved highly detrimental to the Company, the Directors resolved to expunge the raw silk from their investment. They gave up the whole to private traders on condition of paying the freight, charges, and duties ; permitting them to send it to Europe in the Company’s ships upon their own account.

“The whole of this history will serve to demonstrate, that all attempts which in their original system, or in their necessary consequences, tend to the distress of India, must, and in a very short time will, make

themselves felt even by those in whose favour such attempts have been made."

I commend this episode about the model silk reels from Novi to the attention of the Agricultural Department with its projects of model farms and model farmers. I commend it as a study of how utterly hopeless it is for a costly and doctrinaire agency of Government to re-import from abroad or to force up within the country, that industrial skill and experience which have been wholly stamped out, or are being persistently stunted by another and a more drastic agency of the very same Government itself. To the Department of Public Works Reproductive and to its advocates, Dr. W. W. Hunter and General Strachey, bewitched as they are by the glamour of the rise in prices, I commend the third paragraph from the end as a study of how futile, nay how calamitous, is that inflation of quotations, whether for silk or labour, which has been produced only by a lavish expenditure of Government from reckless borrowings. Or (adhering to the nomenclature of the political economist), I commend the explanation by Burke as an example how unsubstantial is that rise in nominal prices which results to any commodity on whose account a Government may proceed either to borrow coin in the money-market, or to manufacture inconvertible paper currency at its engraving presses. This subject will be treated at some length in the next article. Meanwhile, one may mark in the last century price currents of Indian silk as compiled by Burke that very same process of inflating wages which is taking place before our eyes at every canal and every railway now under construction throughout the country. For, when the Government thus enters into competition at these various works with every pre-existing industry of the neighbourhood, they do but galvanise wages into an unnatural rise—a rise which is speedily to be exacted from the coolies in the higher charges enforced by the zemindars and by the other possessors of natural monopolies, as well as by those private employers who have been put under a strain by the Government competition,—a rise also which will continue to be exacted from the coolies even when their short-lived prosperity shall have ceased with the abrupt cessation of the Government's tumultuous expenditure. Yet there are certain people on whom this nominal change in prices does really inflict a substantial nett loss. For the Government itself, having used up this much of its credit and having thereby in the end depreciated the efficiency of its own income in so far as that income is fixed, comes at last to find the evil effects of its own ill-projected Public Works Reproductive recoil on the projectors themselves with a redoubled, but an equitable retribution.

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In SUGAR the course of the export trade has been very similar to that in silk, but the decline has been still more remarkable.

		Quantity.		Value.
		cwts.		£
1850-51	...	1,591,614	...	1,823,965
1870-71	...	345,300	...	295,076

As usual it has been the more refined article, that involving some capital and skill, which has suffered the most severely. At last only the ruder sorts of mere raw produce, such as coarse-jaggery, are maintaining a precarious struggle for a languishing existence. So effectually, indeed, has East Indian competition been crushed out on behalf of English planters in the West Indies and the Mauritius, that in the Bombay Presidency foreign sugars are imported to the extent of half a million* sterling a year. In other words that limited class of the Bombay population who can afford a superior sugar (chiefly those who live by exploitation, litigation, and domination, many of these being foreigners), get it purveyed for them like a luxury which has ceased to be procurable from indigenous resources and which must be conveyed from beyond the seas like an exotic delicacy. With regard to the exportation trade and its decline from the finer to the coarser sorts, a decline similar to what we have examined under cotton and silk, this uniformity of social retrogression, this invariable decay of every immemorial staple of Hindu industry, is a process which taken in connection with the actual condition of the people and not with the airy fictions of demand and supply, will be difficult for official optimists to reconcile with their alleged blessings of the English rule in India. Every industry at all delicate or complex, every handicraft at all superior to the plough or the mattock, has experienced the ruinous injustice of our fiscal handicapping in being required to render tribute to aliens and absentees, and yet to maintain an unequal struggle with those powerful and powerfully favoured capitalists who belong to the conqueror community. All the subsidiary industries sympathise alike under this universal suffering. While the native's loom and the native's mill are being reduced first to working short time and then to working no time at all, there remains but little scope for the native carpenter's plane or the native blacksmith's anvil. A consideration of this feature of India's industrial pathology will help to explain what at first sight seems so inexplicable, the comparative failure of the English skill and the private capital which

* A considerable quantity of this Mauritius sugar only passes through Bombay on its way to the Persian Gulf. Compare below on a similar transit trade of wool.

have been expended upon so many sugar works under seemingly the fairest promise of cheap labour and excellent soil. Certain of these factories still survive* at Shahjehanpore and Balli, at Kotchandpore and Aska, where "by their general effect they recall the sentiment of the historian, excite thankfulness in all thoughtful minds and hope in the breasts of all patriots." Some of their proprietors, despairing of success at sugar, have betaken themselves instead to making rum under the patronage of the Excise Department; and this too in a country where heretofore, from generation to generation, sobriety or rather abstinence has been inculcated by sage legislators and humane priests as a solemn duty of law and religion. The degeneracy from an industry of sugar to an industry of rum is melancholy, but it is not so degraded as that more extensive and systematic process by which the whole empire's exports of calicoes and muslins, corahs and bandannas, have been supplanted and replaced by a stupefying and brutalising drug.

Such, then, is the evil destiny which has overtaken the first home of cotton and sugar, those commodities which were faintly known to the Greeks and Romans by strange rumours from India about trees from whose leaves the natives combed wool like a fleece, and about other trees from whose leaves they gathered honey like the nightly dew. Look at the contrast between the beet root of France, at first sight so unpromising, and the succulent cane of Bengal, and you will have some idea of what capital and skill, if only let alone, can achieve (despite the prophecies of the political economist†) with an article apparently hopeless, and of how little avail is the most advantageous staple when it is subjected to an unfavourable *régime*. As it is, our present herding of coolies in droves from the Indian Ocean away to the Gulf of Mexico, our ganging of disemployed weavers and agricultural starvelings upon earth-work of canal or earth-work of railway, our *mobilising*

* The Annalist of Rural Bengal, while speaking of the English savings that have been wasted on tea failures in Bengal from sheer want of information about the country, and while advocating the deputation of officials on special duty of historiography, says that Englishmen have a right to information about Indian resources. For once I heartily concur with Dr. Hunter that there has been a lamentable waste of English savings upon such enterprises in India, and that henceforth Englishmen desirous of investing in India ought to have better information about Indian re-

sources. I shall only add, first, that the information ought to be accurate even if unpalatable; and, secondly, that whether accurate or not it is for the English capitalist not the Indian ryot to defray the cost of compiling it.

† Had the British flag never waved over the valley of the Ganges, Bengal sugar need not have been shut out from the French and the Continental market in those insane wars for commercial aggrandisement which led to the fostering of beetroot manufacture.

of Indian labour as Dr. Hunter grandly names it, is this the vaunted triumph of the English peace (if peace there ever has been) throughout our Indian Empire?

Better war, loud war, by land and by sea,
War with a thousand battles and shaking a hundred thrones!

TEA has already been examined under the article COFFEE in connection with the plantation staple of India.

The last of the exports taken in alphabetical order is raw WOOL.

		Value.		Quantity.
		£		lbs.
1850-51	...	68,285	...	4,681,910
1870-71	...	670,647	...	19,432,838.

The increase of tenfold in value and fourfold in quantity, like some other instances of increase which we have examined, seems so far to betoken rapid and assured prosperity in India. A closer examination will disclose, as usual, the futility of any such conclusion. For part of the increase merely represents the commercial influence of the Punjab annexation which had hardly begun to tell in the first of those twenty years which I have brought under review. The exportations of raw wool are almost solely from the harbours of Bombay and Scinde. Part of the increase therefore betokens the prosperity of sheep-owners who are not in the enjoyment of the alleged blessings of English rule at all, for a great part of the wool which figures as an Indian export really comes by sea or land from Beloochistan, Afghanistan, and Persia. It comes to India in order merely to be shipped for Europe from Kurrachee or Bombay, ports which from being already established centres of Indian exploitation and of the shipping connected therewith, are also convenient entrepôts for the more natural and healthy, if scanty, trade between these independent countries and Europe. Hence, if an Indian Finance Minister were to impose on raw wool any considerable transit or export duty by way of subjecting the thriving sheep-owners to a share in the incessant increase of Indian taxation, the foreign wool would very soon find another channel than Bombay or Kurrachee, and then a decline in our export returns of that staple would speedily disclose how little of the prosperity registered under exports of wool accrues really to natives of India. Indeed so far from Indian sheep having increased in number or improved in breed during these twenty years, it is a misfortune well known to the officials who with greater and greater difficulty have to procure the Commissariat mutton for the English regiments, it is a misfortune still better known to those natives who have to pay for that mutton, that all over India sheep have been becoming fewer in

numbers and poorer in quality.* This is but one phase of that progressive deterioration in live stock and growing crop which we have examined at some length in the last article. Other instances of this decline will be found in the increasing difficulty which is experienced now-a-days by our Commissariat Department in procuring bullocks and other baggage cattle, and by the Stud Department in replacing the Cavalry horses. These are subjects which will, perhaps, receive some attention from the Parliamentary Finance Committee while enquiring into the rise of military expenditure in India.†

In order to make my usual verification with regard to the raw staple of wool, I turn now to that of the manufactured article, and I find the usual decline. In more prosperous days than these the soft wools of Himalayan and sub-Himalayan pasturages on the Indus used to be made up into fabrics such as have never been rivalled even on the banks of the Rhone. Such were the shawls for home and for foreign purchasers which used to be woven in Umritsur and other towns of the Punjab from the delicate wools of Cashmere. But now under foreign influences which prove fatal to capital and to skill (and even to taste‡) these looms are being more and more condemned to inaction. I believe the present distress among the weavers in the Punjab is officially attributed to the shortened demand from France in consequence of the German war. But the truth is, this is but an incidental aggravation of what has been a long, uniform, and by no means fortuitous depression in all classes of Indian manufacture.

Ten years ago there was no little official requisitioning out here for subscriptions from the natives on behalf of disemployed artisans in Lancashire. It would task even the wealth of England to make a commensurate return to the corresponding classes of India. In India the distress of disemployment is not that of a single country nor of a single season : it is misery spread over an empire and extended over a century. But these are considerations which can

* Since the above was written, I have seen in the newspapers that Mr. Allan Hume of the Agricultural Department has been projecting sheep shows, and competitive exhibition prizes or some Holloway's Ointment or other as a remedy for this mutton difficulty.

† One of the official contributors to the Gazetteer of the Berars (Mr. Lyall, I think), is so much struck with the poverty and scantiness of indigenous horseflesh at the present time, that he is driven to doubt whether there could ever have been

Mahratta horsemen at all, at least from the Berars !

‡ Witness the flimsy and pretentious imitations of oriental stuffs in silk and cotton which have been supplanting the tasteful and durable but unequally handicapped materials of homespun in India and Burmah. I should not wonder if vulgar designs from Paisley are imposed upon the shawl looms of the Punjab. A similar degradation in designing and colouring has been taking place in China and Japan.

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hardly be expected to receive due attention from a Government which over and over again has stooped to cater in picturesque gimcracks for the amusement of a few fashionable loungers about South Kensington. And yet the gradual crushing out of all the indigenous town industries of India is a subject well worthy of the notice of those who would understand why the urban, that is to say especially the Muhammadan, classes should be so disposed to disaffection.

It is not alone the finer classes of fabrics that suffer in this way. We have seen in silk how the brocading declined first, then the plain weaving, and last of all the simple winding. We have seen also a similar order of extirpation with cotton and sugar. In like manner with wool, the industry of the coarsest homespun succumbs in due course after that of the most delicate shawls. Some of my readers will remember how, a few years ago, during one of our many official enquiries instituted on behalf of Manchester manufacturers, some Hindus in a North-West district were reported to have been giving characteristic expression to their vexation at the dearness of country wool and at the scarcity of country-made woollens, by murmuring that these *Feringhis* must be again conspiring against caste and trying to compel the orthodox to defile themselves by wearing skins.

This finishes the subject of Indian export staples.

Chronological Table of Imports.

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Continuing the dynamics of Indian trade with foreign countries, I pass now from the exports to the imports. The general nature of this latter branch of business has already been fully described under the statics, and I shall therefore summarise very briefly the successive modifications disclosed by a comparative view over a considerable period of time. Unfortunately, the Statistical Blue Books, bulky and cumbrous as they are, do not admit of a detailed comparison being carried farther back than twenty years.

CLASS.	ARTICLE.	VALUE IMPORTED, 1850-51.		VALUE IMPORTED, 1870-71.	
		£	£	£	£
Cotton	Cotton Twist and Yarn ...	1,039,329		3,400,002	
	„ Piece Goods ...	3,642,361	4,681,690	15,644,867	19,044,863
Metals	Machinery of all kinds ...	20,666		447,570	
	Railway Material & Stores	.....		1,466,068	
	Metals, manufactured, except Railway materials...	245,393		850,319	
	Metals, raw, except ditto	1,552,947	1,819,006	1,863,272	4,627,229
Liquor	Malt Liquors...	125,009		346,389	
	Spirits ...	159,496		405,381	
	Wines and Liqueurs	273,845	558,350	434,048	1,185,818
Silk & Wool	Silk, Raw ...	240,101		895,563	
	Silk Goods ...	111,554		425,527	
	Woollen „	218,848	570,503	582,339	1,903,429
Salt & Sugar	Salt ...	666,333		715,892	
	Sugar, Sugarcandy and Loaf ...	.....	666,333	555,801	1,271,693
Other Articles.	.....	.....	3,262,906	.....	5,380,868
	GRAND TOTAL	.....	11,558,788	.....	33,413,906

The corresponding quantities, so far as they are shown in the Blue Book, are as follow. (For convenience in collating I repeat the figures of the values rendered.)

Goods.	QUANTITY IMPORTED.		VALUED AT	
	1850-51.	1870-71.	1850-51.	1870-71.
			£	£
Cotton Twist and Yarn ... lbs.	.....*	40,387,059	1,039,329	3,400,002
Malt Liquors ... gals.	.....	1,642,137	125,009	316,389
Spirits ... „	381,579	619,485	159,496	405,381
Wines and Liqueurs ... „	383,273	490,835	273,845	434,043
Salt ... cwts.	1,398,093	4,552,207	666,333	715,892
Silk, Raw ... lbs.	1,259,974	2,328,854	240,101	895,563

* The earliest specification of quantity is under the year 1853-54, namely, 29,519,238 lbs., valued at £1,306,913.

The increase of Indian imports by threefold from 11 millions sterling to 33 millions sterling within the space of 20 years is one of the favourite modes of demonstrating the alleged prosperity of these populations under and because of British rule. But if these entries of so-called merchandise be examined as to their real nature and be verified also by the progressive condition of the populations concerned, one cannot but be shocked to think how profoundly incapable must be those officials who befool themselves with pedantic sophistry like this. As for the logic of such arguing it is like that of the petulant official who points to the Stock Exchange quotations of what is believed, whether correctly or incorrectly, to be substantially an English guaranteed security, and then claims these as a demonstration of the credit accorded to the unaided resources of British India.

What have been the real causes of these trebled imports of so-called merchandise in the twenty years after 1850?

The most important influences have been these:—

I.—POLITICAL. 1st, the annexation of the Punjab; which, in the year at which the tabular statement opens was only beginning to have commercial effect; 2nd, the “assignment” (quaintly so-called) of the Nizam’s Berars; 3rd, the annexation of Pegu; 4th, the annexation of Oudh.

II.—FINANCIAL. 1st, the loading of the country with political mortgage in consequence of a series of deficits never once intermitted; 2nd, the loading of the country with railway mortgage in virtue of assurances which we have never fulfilled and which we can never expect to make good.

A very brief examination of the increased imports in their

Real Causes of this Increase in Imports. 377

details will serve to show how little their figures have to do with greater prosperity among the natives during the twenty years under review.

(1.) The advance under *cotton* from four millions sterling worth to 19 millions worth has been an advance in price more than in quantity. It is not so much that the natives have been enabled to buy more clothing or better clothing, but rather that they have had to pay more for what they did manage to procure. (See the tables of quantities and values just now cited). Such increase as there has been in the quantity of imported piece-goods mainly represents not increased consumption, but merely the displacement of the native manufacture, especially in the newly annexed territories. On this subject the reader is also referred to the heading COTTON (exports side) in the last article.

(2.) The increase under *metals* from £1,800,000 worth to £4,600,000 worth relates chiefly to railway works and forms simply the Custom House register of this deplorable waste which is now standing India in a dead loss of nearly two millions sterling a year, exclusive of interest upon the purchase-money, exclusive of the land bought up for the railways, exclusive of the current loss by exchange and of interest on the past losses by exchange, exclusive of these and of all the other subsidies from Government which are not brought on the capital accounts of the railways at all even when these subsidies are being most palpably defrayed out of debt.

(3.) The increase in the imports of *malt liquor* from £25,000 to £346,000 merely records the fact that so many native sepoys have been displaced by so many English soldiers; or in other words it records the exaction of a heavier taxation, of whose proceeds a less proportion than before finds its way back to the natives. The progress under *wines and liqueurs* from £273,000 worth to £434,000 worth bespeaks the greater amount of taxes that have been enforced from the natives and distributed as salary among the more numerous and the more highly paid officials in the newly annexed and in the older territories.

(4.) If the English residents have been enabled to increase their consumption of non-Indian *wine*, the natives on the other hand have been compelled to increase their consumption of non-Indian *salt*. It would be difficult to conceive a more extraordinary testimony of the enrichment of a country than that which is figured under this head, in the importation having increased from 1,398,000 cwts. in 1850-51 to 455,207 cwts. in 1870-71.* The

* The figures of values rendered the salt, including by mistake some under the earlier years of the table moiety of the duty. The values are evidently erroneous. They doubtless represent the declared value of to be exclusive of the duty.

process described in this nearly quadrupled importation of foreign salt is simply this, that in India the rock of the salt mine must more and more fall into disuse, that in India the heat of the sun and the brine of the sea must more and more lapse into idleness. And why? In order that an alien Government of Christian monotheists may have the fiscal convenience of recovering comfortably as a customs' duty an impost of theirs ranging up to 2,600 per cent. on prime cost on a certain necessary of life which under our much maligned predecessors, the Muhammadan monotheists, was charged only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to Musalmans, and 5 per cent. to Hindus.

There is one instructive feature in this progressive displacement of an Indian product of universal consumption. If the proceeds of the dietary poll-tax had been spent within the country so as to be retained in circulation among the people from whom they were exacted, even this tremendous rate of duty would not have made the salt of India give way on its own home to a distant rival from Cheshire. But it is from the commercial taskmasters being absentees that India has been reduced to this miserable incident of commercial servitude. For, in the constant deportation of so much produce, cotton, grain, oil-seeds, &c., to England or to a customer of England, as a discharge of the tribute periodically falling due from India to her conquerors, the Liverpool shipowner has the amplest assurance of a homeward freight. Accordingly he makes an additional profit on the very ballast for the outward voyage, ballast of salt, ballast of coal, ballast of any commodity which has still a rival remaining to be supplanted out in India. Thus the very servitude of the country becomes the means of farther tightening the bondage. "A country which has to make compulsory payments to foreign countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to exchange its productions for foreign commodities. The paying country has to give a higher price for all that it buys from the receiving country, while the receiving country, besides receiving the tribute, obtains the exportable produce of the tributary country at a lower price." Verily, the curse of the poor is their poverty.

Conversely, the boating craft of the rivers and the bullock-carts on the roads are coming to be employed mainly in carrying down raw produce from the interior to the seaports and in either returning empty or else bringing back a paltry freight of such wares like salt, clothing, or other last necessities of mere existence as will displace some country produce or manufacture from its own bazaars. On some rapid rivers (so inexorable are the conditions of taxation in the upper valleys), the boats never return at all but are broken up for firewood at the end of their one voyage. And

then a department of forest rangers is instituted to teach or compel the natives to conserve their timber ! A consideration of this one-sidedness of Indian trade (with the Mersey ships returning home full, and the Ganges boats returning all but empty) would throw considerable light on the portentous shortness of Indian Railway earnings. But such a range of foresight is certainly not to be expected from the men who actually dream that State Railways here can be made to pay by cheapening in transit some moiety of the cost of salt,—that cost which is made thus prodigious by the very necessity to defray the dead loss on such enterprises as these very railways themselves. This is very much as if the population of London were to be compelled to take their water from Dartmoor and to pay farther an *ad valorem* duty of many hundred per cent., were then to be invited to avail themselves of water tanks on the Great Western trains, and were also to be required to pay up the defective dividends of that Company's original stock, all by way of cheapening their water-supply ! Among the many charming episodes of the Godavery Works there are few more exquisite than Sir Richard Temple's suggestion that the Government steamers would contribute materially to defray their own cost, in that they would use up the jungle for fuel and so prepare the wilderness for human habitation !

Turning, however, from the authors to the victims of such misconduct, let each man commune seriously with his own conscience on the miseries which we are inflicting on others, and the self-contradictory perplexities which we are imposing on ourselves by a system of government flagrantly immoral in its origin and dangerously unsound in its constitution. "Behold, our hands are defiled with blood, and our fingers with iniquity. Our works are works of iniquity and the act of violence is in our hands. Our thoughts are thoughts of iniquity ; wasting and destruction are in our paths. The way of peace we know not, and there is no judgment in our goings ; we have made us crooked paths ; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace. We wait for light, but behold obscurity ; for brightness, but we walk in darkness. We grope for the wall as the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes : we stumble at noon-day as in the night ; we are in desolate places as dead men." Pressed and embarrassed by the remonstrances of Cholera Commissions on the continent of Europe we appoint sanitary officers out here to deal with the epidemic mortality of the native populations and especially to protect those sickly regiments of our own countrymen which are relegated to our fatal cantonments. But it is those very taxes of ours, taxes on crops, taxes on food, taxes on justice, taxes on every thing and every body (taxes even which we have to augment in order to pay these new doctors themselves), it is

those very taxes which help to breed the epidemics, for they leave to the multitudinous patients an insufficient fare of food, always coarse and innutritious and often seasoned with an earth-salt vilely impure. With their chloride of sodium hosts of human beings are compelled by us to swallow sulphate of soda and sulphate of magnesia. In other words we compel them to season their miserable diet of millet and pulse with a condiment which is largely made up of Glauber's salt and Epsom salt, and then we wonder why those jungly wretches should be so shockingly unhealthy. We practically compel the people to smuggle and then we exclaim against their demoralisation and proceed to raise farther police. We make it impossible for the people to economise their fish supply by salting and curing, and then we rail at their wastefulness and proceed to appoint an Inspector-General of fishermen. We perpetrate scandals with the right hand and then we employ the left to undo them. Nay we resemble rather that bashaw who, having eaten the peasants out of house and home, proceeded to charge them extra piastres for the wear and tear of his teeth.

Before closing this dynamical examination of Indian exports and before entering on the consideration of bullion currency and prices, I shall adduce one or two typical examples of those operations by which India is being systematically exploited for the sole benefit of English commerce.

There is a line of telegraph through Persia, called the Indo-European, which was constructed for the express purpose of ministering to Anglo-Indian trade and government. The cost of construction was not less than a million sterling, all of which was charged to India. Of course the usual Anglo-Indian prospect was put forth that the outlay would prove reproductive, and of course that prophecy has had the usual Anglo-Indian fulfilment. Why was not England required to contribute towards an enterprise of which her merchants and officials were to reap the whole or the bulk of the profits?

Again look at those commercial missions of recent years, as ridiculous in their results as they were objectionable in their projection. For example in 1868, a year of vast deficit, a costly official mission, including a delegate from the English Chamber of Commerce at Rangoon, was sent beyond the Irrawaddy to "*tap*" Eastern Burmah and Western China. Even now an *avant-courier* of British commerce paid out of Indian taxes continues to be located at Bhamo, far beyond our dominions, with extra-territorial jurisdiction, like a writer of a factory, and is keeping watch and ward over this aspiration of "*opening out*" the country. In 1870, a year of nitense distress culminating in terrible mortality, another official mission, including an English tea planter from Kangra, was equipped at the cost of the over-taxed Hindus, but in the interest mainly of

English cotton spinners in Lancashire and of English tea planters in the Himalayas, and it was sent to prospect for exports and imports beyond the Indus, over mountain passes higher than Mont Blanc and through a country which in one region extending over seven days' journey yielded "not a stick of fuel nor a blade of green grass." Even now an English official maintained at the inevitable cost of the Indian tax-payer continues to exercise far away in Ladakh a jurisdiction which in extra-territoriality resembles rather the function of a consul in the ancient age of theology and conquest, than that of a consul in the nascent *régime* of science and industry. Yet so little of "*a vent*" either for piece-goods or for tea or for any other commodity whatsoever was after all to be found in those far regions of swampy cane brakes beyond the Irrawaddy, and of Alpine Saharas beyond the Indus, that the two missions had much ado to escape starvation. Before the start of the missions the most sanguine, but as the event proved, the most gratuitous assurances had been proclaimed about the welcome that was to be expected from the potentates and peoples beyond the frontier. Yet, in each case as the mission went forward there came back "the most damning reports" about "intrigues of chiefs," "villainous underhand procedure" and so on. When the costly official caravans did at last get back to our territory after effecting the most contemptible failures, some kind of propitiation had to be made to secure the "prestige" (always prestige) of the English in Asia and the extra-territorial rights of English Christians going forth among Paynims. Originally the friendly powers had been represented as eager to welcome the missions, but now they had to be moved to take action against certain satraps of theirs for slackness in obeying those requisitions for provender that had to be issued by our commercial travellers, for it appeared that without these somewhat uncommercial transactions no progress was possible, notwithstanding all the resources waiting to be "tapped" which had previously been ascribed to those regions.*

"The political order of its [the East India Company's] political service," said Burke, "is carried on upon a mercantile plan and mercantile principles. In fact the East India Company is a State in the disguise of a merchant. Its whole service is a system of public offices in the disguise of a counting-house. Accordingly the external order and series of the services, as I observed, is commercial; the principal, the inward, the real is almost entirely political."

When I consider all the company-mongering of the last twenty years at the expense of the natives of India; when I consider

* See the Parliamentary Papers on Mr. Commissioner Forsyth's mission Major Sladen's mission to Bhamo, and to Yarkand.

those very taxes which help to breed the epidemics, for they leave to the multitudinous patients an insufficient fare of food, always coarse and innutritious and often seasoned with an earth-salt vilely impure. With their chloride of sodium hosts of human beings are compelled by us to swallow sulphate of soda and sulphate of magnesia. In other words we compel them to season their miserable diet of millet and pulse with a condiment which is largely made up of Glauber's salt and Epsom salt, and then we wonder why those jungly wretches should be so shockingly unhealthy. We practically compel the people to smuggle and then we exclaim against their demoralisation and proceed to raise farther police. We make it impossible for the people to economise their fish supply by salting and curing, and then we rail at their wastefulness and proceed to appoint an Inspector-General of fishermen. We perpetrate scandals with the right hand and then we employ the left to undo them. Nay we resemble rather that bashaw who, having eaten the peasants out of house and home, proceeded to charge them extra piastres for the wear and tear of his teeth.

Before closing this dynamical examination of Indian exports and before entering on the consideration of bullion currency and prices, I shall adduce one or two typical examples of those operations by which India is being systematically exploited for the sole benefit of English commerce.

There is a line of telegraph through Persia, called the Indo-European, which was constructed for the express purpose of ministering to Anglo-Indian trade and government. The cost of construction was not less than a million sterling, all of which was charged to India. Of course the usual Anglo-Indian prospect was put forth that the outlay would prove reproductive, and of course that prophecy has had the usual Anglo-Indian fulfilment. Why was not England required to contribute towards an enterprise of which her merchants and officials were to reap the whole or the bulk of the profits?

Again look at those commercial missions of recent years, as ridiculous in their results as they were objectionable in their projection. For example in 1868, a year of vast deficit, a costly official mission, including a delegate from the English Chamber of Commerce at Rangoon, was sent beyond the Irrawaddy to "tap" Eastern Burmah and Western China. Even now an *avant-courier* of British commerce paid out of Indian taxes continues to be located at Bhamo, far beyond our dominions, with extra-territorial jurisdiction, like a writer of a factory, and is keeping watch and ward over this aspiration of "*opening out*" the country. In 1870, a year of nitense distress culminating in terrible mortality, another official mission, including an English tea planter from Kangra, was equipped at the cost of the over-taxed Hindus, but in the interest mainly of

English cotton spinners in Lancashire and of English tea planters in the Himalayas, and it was sent to prospect for exports and imports beyond the Indus, over mountain passes higher than Mont Blanc and through a country which in one region extending over seven days' journey yielded "not a stick of fuel nor a blade of green grass." Even now an English official maintained at the inevitable cost of the Indian tax-payer continues to exercise far away in Ladakh a jurisdiction which in extra-territoriality resembles rather the function of a consul in the ancient age of theology and conquest, than that of a consul in the nascent *régime* of science and industry. Yet so little of "*a vent*" either for piece-goods or for tea or for any other commodity whatsoever was after all to be found in those far regions of swampy cane brakes beyond the Irrawaddy, and of Alpine Saharas beyond the Indus, that the two missions had much ado to escape starvation. Before the start of the missions the most sanguine, but as the event proved, the most gratuitous assurances had been proclaimed about the welcome that was to be expected from the potentates and peoples beyond the frontier. Yet, in each case as the mission went forward there came back "the most damning reports" about "intrigues of chiefs," "villainous underhand procedure" and so on. When the costly official caravans did at last get back to our territory after effecting the most contemptible failures, some kind of propitiation had to be made to secure the "prestige" (always prestige) of the English in Asia and the extra-territorial rights of English Christians going forth among Paynims. Originally the friendly powers had been represented as eager to welcome the missions, but now they had to be moved to take action against certain satraps of theirs for slackness in obeying those requisitions for provender that had to be issued by our commercial travellers, for it appeared that without these somewhat uncommercial transactions no progress was possible, notwithstanding all the resources waiting to be "tapped" which had previously been ascribed to those regions.*

"The political order of its [the East India Company's] political service," said Burke, "is carried on upon a mercantile plan and mercantile principles. In fact the East India Company is a State in the disguise of a merchant. Its whole service is a system of public offices in the disguise of a counting-house. Accordingly the external order and series of the services, as I observed, is commercial; the principal, the inward, the real is almost entirely political."

When I consider all the company-mongering of the last twenty years at the expense of the natives of India; when I consider

* See the Parliamentary Papers on Mr. Commissioner Forsyth's mission Major Sladen's mission to Bhamo, and to Yarkand.

the persistence in seeking, the success in obtaining, and the rigour in enforcing guarantees of interest, and subsidies of capital for railway schemes, for canal schemes, and for heaven knows what other schemes all ensuring a profit for the Christian promoters, but at the entire risk of the miserable heathens; when I consider the pressure which the Anglo-Indian interests always can and often do bring to bear on the India Office in London; when I think of the parliamentary influence wielded by the shareholding and fundholding mortgagees of Indian industry; when I consider the scandalous indecency of members of the guaranteed directorates being allowed to audit and vote on substantially their own private personal concerns *ex parte* in the parliamentary tribunal: when I consider all these and other similar iniquities, I cannot but renew the comparison of Burke with only an inversion of the attitudes, I cannot but pronounce that the Government of India is a merchant in the disguise of a State, that its whole service is a system of counting-houses in the disguise of public offices.

JAMES GEDDES.

ERRATUM.—In the January number, page 164, 2nd paragraph, before "Epidemic" and "Endemic" read "disease."

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN WHEAT.

Official Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Contributions from India to the London Exhibition of 1862.

THE original native country of the Indian wheat has not been ascertained. Dr. Royle thinks that it is probably indigenous to Central Asia. There are some who think that wheat is a native of Asia and Africa. The highest limit to its cultivation in the southern slope of the Himalaya is 13,000 to 15,000 feet. Although the cultivation of wheat, which must have commenced on high land, has been gradually extended to the different parts of India, it grows best where the winter is intense. In the Rig Veda we meet with notices of cultivated and fertile land, water courses for the purposes of irrigation, and oxen forming "a team of four yoked together," which shows that ploughing in those days was deeper and performed in less time. Max Müller (in his "Chips," Vol. II.) says that "wheat was known under the name of 'sueta' meaning 'white.'" In the Ramayan mention is made of "the finest cakes of sifted wheat," and allusions to this grain are also to be found in the Agni, Brahma and other Puranas. Wheaten cakes and wheat have been discovered in the excavation of a Buddhist monastery in Sarnath.* It is therefore evident that the Brahmins and the Buddhists consumed the article. Although wheat was cultivated in India from remote times, we are inclined to think that the cultivation and consumption of barley were larger, because it does not exhaust the soil so much as wheat, yields more largely, and occupies less time on the field. For this reason barley is frequently mentioned in Hindu works. During the heroic age barley was likewise the principal food in Greece. In other ancient countries the cultivation of wheat was large and successful. Herodotus speaking of Chaldea says, "In grain it is so plentiful as to yield commonly two-hundredfold, and when the production is at the greatest, three-hundredfold. The blade of the wheat plant and of the barley is often four fingers in breadth." Theophrastus says that "in Babylon the wheat fields are mown twice and then fed off with beasts to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf; otherwise the plant does not run to ear. When this is done, the return in lands that are well cultivated is fiftyfold; while in those that are well farmed, it is a hundredfold."

In Egypt wheat was cultivated before the departure of the Israelites as stated in the Exodus. The wheat found in the tomb

* *Bengal Asiatic Journal* for 1854.

of the time of the Pharoahs, was sown in England and produced excellent nutritious crops. In Greece "bread was made of many other grains besides wheat and barley." Athens was the centre of commerce. It imported corn, as the quantity of wheat which was grown in Greece was not equal to its consumption. Plutarch in his *Morals* (Vol. III.) says, "Now barley is weaker than wheat, therefore it affords but little nourishment," and therefore "a fat and deep soil fruitful of wheat and a lean soil of barley." The Romans appear to have paid greater attention to agriculture. Pliny commenting on Virgil says,— "Wheat the later it is reaped, the better it lasts, the sooner it is reaped, the fairer the sample. Mommsen says, "their (Romans) husbandry was mainly occupied with the culture of the cereals. The usual grain was spelt* (far), but different kinds of pulse, roots and vegetables were cultivated. Possibly the Carthaginian planters in Sicily served as models to the oldest Roman landlords; but, perhaps, even the appearance of wheat in husbandry by the side of spelt, which Varro places about the period of the Decemvirs, was connected with that altered system of management." In Rome barley given to military men was evidently considered a mark of punishment. Plutarch states that Marcellus finding that his army had suffered a defeat ordered that "barley instead of wheat" should be given to those who had turned their backs.

The cultivation of wheat in Great Britain was limited for several centuries, and its consumption during the middle ages was confined to the higher orders.

From the scattered notices of travellers and others it appears that the cultivation of wheat in India has been continued throughout.

Appolonius of Tyana, who came here about the first half of the Christian era notices "wheat stalks like reeds in a place fifteen days' journey from the Ganges." The *Periplus*, is not clear in saying:—"A small part of the Indies produces plenty of corn. The sea coast from Scinde to Guzerat produces abundance of corn. The port of Nelkunda imports corn only for the use of ship's companies. The merchants don't sell it." In Renaudot's *Ancient India and China* (9th century) we find the following notice:—"Rice is the most common food of the Indians who eat no wheat."

Thomas in his *Military Memoirs* (1793-1801) speaking of the Punjab, states that "it produces in the greatest abundance sugar-cane, wheat, barley, &c."

Under the Mogul Government the lands of Oude were divided into three classes:—

1st class giving	...	18 mds.	=	1,476lbs.
2nd " "	...	12 " "	=	984 "
3rd " "	...	8 " 35srs.	=	726 "

* Called also German Wheat.

averaging 12 maunds 38 seers, and the price was 12 dams a maund, or 90 seers a rupee. The average produce of wheat in India in the middle of the 17th century was 1,155 lbs. per acre. The Dewan Pusaud says that wheat grows well without irrigation on the Deher and Jheel land. It is "a rubee or winter crop sown in Kartic, reaped in Bysak, requires three ploughings: quantity of seed to be sown on a biggah is ten seers, the yield per biggah two to three maunds, and the extent of irrigation five or six times."

Ancient India suffered from famines alluded to in the Ramayan and the relief was in charms and incantations. In the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries there were severe famines. Neither Jehangir nor Aurungzebe could alleviate the suffering of the people, although we believe they did all that their intellect could suggest. The years of succeeding severity and famine were 1733, 1744, 1752, 1770, 1783, 1787, 1790, 1803, 1813, 1819, 1826, 1833, 1837, 1861, and 1866. The famines of 1770, 1787, 1833 and 1865 affected Bengal.

In Akbar's time a rupee would buy 115 lbs., or 2 maunds 35 seers. The highest price at which it sold in Delhi from 1763 to 1835 was in 1783, when its price was six seers per rupee. In 1795-96 it sold at 70 seers per rupee; from 1820 to 1852 the prices fell from 25 to 37 seers, although 1839-40 was a period of scarcity. But from 1852 to 1870 the prices rose from 37 to 16 seers, which is clearly attributable to the famines of 1861 and 1866.

The policy of the Government when there was scarcity or famine was different in early times. On the 10th October 1791 an embargo was laid, and it was re-enacted on the 29th October 1792. On the 16th September 1803 the Government again prohibited the export of grain, and directed the re-landing of all grain on any vessel in the Hooghly or any other part of Bengal. On the 27th of the same month the Government advertised a bounty on the grain imported from Bengal to Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, or Futtighur. On the 27th October 1803 the Government permitted the exportation of grain from Bengal to any British port. On the 27th June 1804, the Government advertised that it would give a bounty of Rs. 10 per 100 maunds on grain exported to Chittagong. On the 14th January 1804, the Government encouraged the exportation of rice from Bengal to Madras by offering the price of 110 pagodas for Madras Garces for cargo rice of good quality. We think it well to observe that the cargo rice as now understood means three-fourths rice and one-fourth paddy, which is made in Burmah but unknown to the Calcutta market. The cargo rice then must have meant uncleaned rice. On the 18th February 1760, the Government prohibited the export of grain except to Madras which was suffering from scarcity. On the 28th July 1761, the Government took steps to buy grain in the markets of Lukypoor, Kissen-gunge and Dacca.

On the 26th March 1787, Mr. Dexter established in Calcutta "a mill for grinding flour, being the first of the kind ever known in Bengal." We believe the number of persons in Bengal living on rice is larger than those living on wheat, but the extended cultivation of the latter and the facilities for making flour have led to the introduction of hand-made bread, constituting the chief evening meal in a large number of Bengali families. In Calcutta and contiguous places the hand-made bread eaten by the Bengalis is thinner and not so nutritious as the *chapatis* of the up-country Hindus. A late Governor-General while travelling up the country gladly took several *chapatis*, and His Excellency liked them so much that he lost no time in mentioning to his Aide-de-Camp that at breakfast he eat no less than four *chaprasis*!

In 1822 Morecroft brought to the notice of the Government the Hussoora wheat and the wheat of Ladak, which he thought might be cultivated in Great Britain and the Cape to advantage.

In 1837 Mr. Henry Kirke tried the celestial barley or Tartarian wheat in the Dhoon, where it succeeded. Each ear was found to contain 87 to 96 grains and "made a delicious flour." The Goorka sepoy found that it filled "their stomachs better than a seer of *atta* made from wheat." In Yule's edition of Marco Polo's Travels we find that the good wheat and the huskless barley which is like wheat are grown in Budakshan, Ladak, and the contiguous hill countries. The huskless barley is in reality not huskless, for "when ripe it bursts the husk." There are six varieties of this barley, and the kind sent to England as Tartarian wheat was one of the kinds of barley. In 1843 Mr Thomas Toanochy tried the Egyptian wheat in Bolundshahr, and although the weather was unfavourable "the ears were considered very fine and well grown," and the quality very superior, resembling the Gungagelly grown from Rajmahal to Patna and those imported into England from the Mediterranean and Odessa.

In the same year Colonel Ouseley grew some kinds of wheat in Hoshungabad; and the report on the Gungagelly and Dooda descriptions by the Agri-Horticultural Society of India was favourable.

In 1848, Mr. W. H. Smith of Bareilly sent several samples of wheat to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, out of which the Cabul wheat was considered the best and most suited for the English market.

In the same year Dr. Royle reported on the soft and hard wheats of the Nerbudda "as the finest specimens in the London market, and the soft wheat valued at from four to five and six shillings *above* the highest prices of the day. They weighed 64 lbs. to the bushel." J. James and Sons reported that "the soft Tessee wheat is certainly the most valuable, inasmuch that it would be

available for a miller's purposes in larger proportions without any mixture, the colour being specially excellent."

In 1847, Baboo Mutty Lall Seal came forward to get for the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India wheat seed from the Cape and Launceston or Sydney, and offered to distribute the quantity that might be placed in his hands in Behar and Upper India, with directions to conduct the experiments properly that fine and soft kinds might be largely grown. As no report was made by Baboo Mutty Lall Seal, it is difficult to trace what the results were, but from some of the above extracts, it will be evident that good wheat was being already grown in some parts of India. The wheat grown in several districts of Lower Bengal is of an inferior kind. Good wheat appears from Colgong to Upper India, and to the west in Guzerat and Scinde. In the North it is grown with barley. In the South the cultivation of the article is limited. In Madras the area for food grain is 20 millions, against four millions of acres for other products. Of the grain cultivated wheat forms an insignificant portion. In Mysore only 9,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of this article. The cost of cultivation on chur lands is less as it requires no irrigation. In Bombay it is chiefly grown above the ghats in the Deccan, Kandeish, Carnatic, and Guzerat. Of the six varieties grown in Bombay, the Bukhshi and Davod give very superior flour. In 1843, the cost of the Broach wheat was estimated at Rs. 11-9-3 per biggah, or Rs. 23-2-6 per acre. The wheat was shipped to England. According to the Broker's report, it was similar to what was grown at Smyrna. It weighed 62 lbs. per bushel. The result of the shipment was, however, not encouraging.

In 1847, the question of importing Indian wheat was revived by the Court of Directors, and the attention of the Government was directed to the resources of the North-Western Provinces. Cawnpore then produced 2,841,712 maunds, giving eight maunds per Jurabee biggah, the whole of which was grown on the level plains or table lands. It was found that wherever watering was necessary, wheat was sown broadcast, and where irrigation was not required, it was sown in drills. The selling prices were 30 to 32 rupees for the best. In Goruckpore the quantity grown was 7,660,000 maunds, and the selling prices were 51 seers per rupee. This enquiry led to the collection of much statistical information as to the cost and yield per biggah, but the variations in its measurements in the different districts did not give the totals in comparative order. The Government has since adopted the plan of making all calculations according to the acre equal to three biggahs and eight chuckas. As to the yield of wheat in the North-Western Provinces, Captain Tuckett's 2,000 experiments give 1,046 lbs. per acre. The results of subsequent experi-

ments average 1,546 lbs. on irrigated, and 850 lbs. on dry lands. The average produce per acre in the Central Provinces in 1867-68 was 405 lbs., and in 1868-69 351 lbs. Mr. Grant estimates the average yield in the Nerbudda Valley at 492 lbs. per acre, the seed corn being 123 lbs. In Bombay it is about 1,200 lbs.

In the Punjab under the Sikh administration wheat sold at one rupee per maund in the large cities. During the early administration of the British Government the price came down considerably. Subsequently the price was higher than when famine raged in the North-Western Provinces. There has been a steady increase, which is accounted for by the increased demand and the opening out of new markets. In 1854-56 it was ascertained that of the whole population two-thirds were agriculturists, and of the spring crops wheat forms more than 60 per cent. The yield per acre is 1,394 lbs., or 17 maunds. In the North-Western Provinces the completion of the different irrigation works is supposed to have extended the area of the cultivation of the food articles, but from the returns of 1867-68 to 1869-70, the extension has been more in sugar and indigo than in wheat. Although the falling off in the cultivation of wheat was 214,333 acres, yet the wheat crop was three times larger than rice or barley crops; and was estimated at one-half of the other food crops. No enquiry has, we believe, been made as to the increase or decrease of the area of the wheat cultivation. While it continues dear and jowra and bajra are cheaper, the inference is that either the production has decreased or the consumption and export have increased. At one time the nett cultivation charge was taken at Rs. 17 per acre. In 1846-47 the average land tax was Rs. 1-12-11 per acre.

We shall now give the opinion of the judges on the Indian wheat submitted at the different Exhibitions. At the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London we do not observe that the Indian wheat was well spoken of, but the Victoria was considered the best, and so was the one grown in Spain, although this was not accessible. At the London Exhibition of 1862 several Indian samples were sent. The remarks of the judges are as follows:—"Four kinds of wheat are grown in Oude, called "Safeda," "Morilwah" (which is armless), "Samodhah," and "Latpia." The first two are the best kinds and they generally sell from 16 to 40 seers per rupee, according to the abundance of the season. The other two kinds are those most generally sown, and they sell for 18 to 45 seers per rupee. When the wheat crops are from four to six inches high, they are irrigated once, and then a second time when it begins to flower. It is grown on heavy soils, and generally near the banks of rivers. On the Sumbulpore wheat the judges say—"The flour made from it is excellent, as is the bread." On the Jubbulpore wheat they say—"This beautiful wheat is pro-

duced in the Jubbulpore, Nursingpore, and Hoshungabad districts all along the railway to Bombay." At the Exhibition held in Calcutta in 1864, the judges say—"The exhibition of wheat was very good and the best wheat came from Benares." In 1867 there was an Exhibition at Agra; the report of the jury was that "the show of wheat, barley and rice was particularly good," and that the best samples of wheat came from Hoshungabad, Furruckabad, and Etwah districts. In 1865 there was an Exhibition in the Central Provinces. The judges observe that "there were some first-rate samples of wheat, although they were not so numerous as might have been expected." The wheat of the Nerbudda Valley "was of the most superior kind." At the Exhibition held in 1866 wheat was exhibited from eleven districts, but that from Hoshungabad was the best. At the Punjab Exhibition "there were twelve samples of the red, and sixty-two of the white." The Yasin from Kashmir "was remarkably good." Next to it was the Shahpur of "particularly fine grain."

The Indian wheat has a larger amount of nitrogenous matter, viz., 13.42, than bajra, jowra, rice or ruggee. It yields the largest albumen, viz., 14.67, and starch and oily matter 71.66. The percentage of gluten in the wheat of Europe averages 22.5, of Asia 21.6, of North America 21.3, of Africa 22, of South Africa 17.9, of Australia, 16 to 18. It is supposed that the Indian wheat "contains three times as much gluten as English wheat." The results of this enquiry by Professor Harris which we look for with much interest will establish the future of the Indian wheat.

The descriptions of wheat which generally sell in the Calcutta market are the Pegu or Benares, Dooda Gungajelly, Jumali, and Dooda Jumali. Gungajelly and Jumali of inferior qualities are grown in the low districts of Bengal where there is no intense cold.

The yield of flour from these kinds of wheat is as follows:—

Pegu about 30 seers of flour and 8 seers bran.

Dooda,	31	"	"	7	"
Jumali,	27½	"	"	9	"

Pegu and Dooda sometimes give 75 per cent. flour and 25 per cent. bran. There is no strength in the other kinds. Dooda is not equal to the Cape, Australian, or Trieste wheat. There is a loss of about 8 per cent. in cleaning Pegu and Dooda, and 10 per cent. in Jumali.

The Trieste is the best flour, and the difference in quality between the Trieste and Dooda is 50 per cent. The Cape stands next to Trieste. The Trieste costs 30 rupees per barrel of 194lbs., and the Cape 22 rupees. The cause of the inferiority of the Indian wheat is that it is not properly washed, dried and kiln-dried, nor is the flour properly ground and dressed. Gungajelly is not ground into flour, but is only used for soojee with Dooda or Jumali.

It does not appear from the list of exports to Great Britain that wheat or other grain was exported to that country in 1816.

Previous to 1823-24 the export of wheat to Great Britain was unimportant. In 1851-52 the total export of wheat from Calcutta was 2,57,153 maunds, but none to Great Britain. In 1855-56 the export to Great Britain was 4,99,496 maunds, and up to 1863 the export fell off. It is noteworthy that the export of Wheat and Rice to Great Britain increases whenever the food crops there are deficient.

The total export of wheat and of that to Great Britain from 1863-64 is as follows:—

	Total mds.	of which to Great Britain mds.
1863-64 ...	3,63,117	52,795
1864-65 ...	3,95,856	4,084
1865-66 ...	2,23,252	.....
1866-67 ...	98,086	.....
1867-68 ...	4,29,461	1,85,594
1868-69 ...	2,49,971	49,923
1869-70 ...	82,820	.....
1870-71 ...	4,51,629½	86,490
1871-72 ...	5,23,029	2,90,150

Wheat formerly was shipped to Mauritius and Bourbon, more specially when there was a failure of the crop at the Cape, but those two islands now receive regular supplies from Australia, the Gulf, and sometimes from Bombay and Kurrachee. The shipment of the Indian wheat to England at one time was not considered safe, because it was thought that it could not stand the long passage; although a shipment of wheat from Calcutta to Australia was made some years ago, and it was landed in good condition. This fact proves that if the wheat were carefully dried and stored after being reaped, it could stand a long passage. The shipment of wheat in sailing vessels to Great Britain has been with reference to its demand, and of late the Greek houses have been steadily shipping it to England; which accounts for the export in 1871-72 being the largest ever known since 1856-57, although it was in a great measure influenced by the deficient harvest in England. The question of the long passage does not however apply, as the opening of the Suez Canal and the regular employment of steamers and iron ships will bring wheat sooner to England. The prices here, however, have been high, and are as follows:—

	1868.	1869.	1870.
	Seers per rupee.	Seers per rupee.	Seers per rupee.
Central Provinces ...	14½	14	12½
Lower Bengal ...	22½	14½	14
N.-W. Provinces ...	22	13¾	12
Punjab ...	20½	11½	15½
Oude ...	26	13¾	18¾

In Bengal the prices from April 1870 to March 1871 are as follows :—highest 9 and lowest 29 seers of 80 tolah weight per rupee. In the South Marhatta the price in 1870 was $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb., while in 1852 the price was $1d.$

In 1870-71 the prices of wheat were higher in the North-Western Provinces, "owing to exports and indifferent autumnal seasons." In January 1870, wheat sold at Peshawur at Rs. 2-4, and in other places at Rs. 3-13 to Rs. 4-7 per maund.

The prices of wheat as given in the *Gazette of India* for the second-half of February 1873, are as follows :—

				Seers. C.		Seers. C.		per rupee.
				highest	lowest	highest	lowest	
Madras	... 19 districts	highest	6	5	lowest	15	9	
Bombay	... 29	"	7	5	"	15	9	"
Bengal, Western	... 5	"	10	0	"	13	0	"
" Central	... 12	"	6	0	"	20	50	"
" Eastern	... 10	"	8	0	"	19	0	"
Behar	... 10	"	11	0	"	13	0	"
Orissa	... 3	"	12	0	"	15	75	"
Chota Nagpore	... 4	"	10	0	"	15	0	"
Assam and adjacent Hills...	7	"	10	0	"	16	0	"
N.-W. Provinces	... 35	"	11	87	"	23	6	"
Punjab	... 32	"	14	81	"	23	32	"
Oudh	... 12	"	11	1	"	17	5	"
Central Provinces	... 19	"	11	2	"	49	0	"
Hyderabad Assigned	... 3	"	11	1	"	14	9	"
Mysore and Coorg	... 9	"	7	8	"	11	0	"
Rajpootana	... 10	"	11	75	"	17	50	"
Central India	... 4	"	11	50	"	18	75	"

The maximum and minimum rates given above clearly prove want of sufficient traffic between the different districts and the high price of the article generally. The seer in some places is as defined in Act XXXI. of 1871, and in some a seer of 80 tolahs.

The experiments of Mr. Halsey in the North-Western Provinces in 1871 are deserving of notice. They were two—one in Bundelkhund and one in Cawnpore. Of the wheat grown one weighed per bushel 64 lbs., against 63 lbs. in England, and the average yield of one was 20 bushels, against 33 in England.

The average yield of wheat per acre in the European countries ascertained some years ago is as follows :—

Ireland	... 26	bushels.
Do.	... 30 to 40	do. high farming.
England and Scotland	... 28	do.
Do.	... 44	do. high farming.
Belgium	... 21	do.
France	... 14	do.
Russia	... 17	do.
Silesia	... 10	do.
Austria	... 15 to 16	do.

The average weight of a bushel of good wheat is $58\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., yielding an average yield of flour of 13lbs.

The supply to Great Britain is estimated at the following proportions :—

United States	...	...	35 per cent.
Germany	...	...	20 "
Russia	...	...	17 "
France	...	...	12 "
Egypt	...	...	6 "
Other countries	...	...	10 "
Total			100 "

The average prices of wheat in England and Wales are as follows :—

			s.	d.	
1840-44	...	...	57	10	per quarter.
1845-49	...	...	54	0	"
1850-44	...	...	48	9	"
1845-59	...	...	57	8	"
1860-64	...	...	49	9	"
1865-69	...	...	53	9	"
1870	...	...	46	11	"
1871	...	...	56	8	"

We desire to urge on the Department of Agriculture the necessity of making close enquiries as to the growth and extension of the cultivation of this grain and other cereals. We need not point out that epidemic and endemic diseases arise from the use of diseased grain. The Government of India has already admitted the necessity of effecting improvements by introducing seeds of a "superior character." We sincerely hope that the Department of Agriculture will direct its best efforts to this desideratum. Our impression is that cotton has in some places supplanted wheat, and unless the price of cotton be low again, the agriculturists will not take to the cereals. We have very little doubt that in Lower Bengal jute and seeds have displaced rice to some extent ; and the high price of the latter compared with what it was twenty years ago can only be accounted for by larger local consumption and export or diminished production. The repeal of the export duty on wheat by the Viceroy on the 4th January 1873, will necessarily increase its export to the ports where it can be exported with profit. But will the prices admit of increased exportation unless they decline? Things must take their natural course. We must, however, not lose sight of some important facts. After the repeal of the corn laws the production of grain in Great Britain was larger. During the decade after 1851 the average growth of wheat was about three millions of quarters less. The average annual importation of wheat and flour was 8,296,000 quarters in 1871 against 5,030,000

quarters in 1861. The population of Great Britain was 31,610,000 in 1871 against 29,070,000 in 1861. The average price since the repeal of the corn laws may be taken at 53s. per quarter—which is 50 per cent. higher than the price which ruled during the first 27 years of the last century. The yield of wheat in all the wheat-exporting countries, according to the latest returns, is decreasing. In Prussia the yield is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters per acre. In America, Canada, Austria, Germany, and Spain “from one-half to one-third less than of England.” The prices of guano and other manures have risen 50 to 63 per cent. In England the guano required for an acre of wheat costs 40 shillings, and the soil of Great Britain for the food articles requires restoration, while the cultivation of the succulents can be carried on at much less cost. This state of things is on the whole favourable to the Indian wheat, but it must be laid down at a figure to ensure a ready and advantageous sale. We believe the descriptions of wheat exported to Europe from Calcutta are the Dooda and Gungajelly. Their present prices are Rs. 3-6 and Rs. 3-2 per bazar maund respectively. The charges here are about 13 and on the other side 6 per cent. Freights range as follow—*via* Cape 55s. to 65s., *via* Canal 60s. to 70s. per ton of 20 cwt. nett. The descriptions of wheat for sale in the Bombay markets are the Kurachee, Bansy, Pisi (from Jubbulpore), Kanthapota (from ditto), Ghaty (up-country), and Kundwa. Prices on the 4th March 1873 are Rs. 18 to Rs. 38 per candy, or $25\frac{1}{2}$ to 26 Bombay maunds of 28lbs. each. Another matter deserving of the attention of the Department is the utilisation of the straw, which in this country is given to the cattle; while in England it is plaited and applied to various economic uses, *viz.*, making hats, bonnets, ornamental works, in which Madagascar, China, and Japan compete, and likewise establish an important branch of industry.

ART. IX.—A REPLY TO CAPTAIN OSBORN ON THE
INDIAN POLICY OF POSITIVISM.*

(Independent Section.)

THERE are certain inaccuracies which I purpose to correct in Captain Osborn's criticism in the October number of the *Calcutta Review*.

He opens with the usual invective against the tyrannical and coercive nature of the whole Positive method. He is greatly in favour of something or other which he calls liberty, and he denounces as despotic priestcraft a system in which universal suffrage, plebiscites, the ballot, and the electioneering majorities of the hour are held in very little esteem. For he has a good deal in common with that American according to whom the earth revolves on her axis once in the twenty-four hours "sub-
"jeck to the constitootion of the U-nited States."

With regard to the arrogance thus complained of, there is just as much arrogance and no more in the principles of Positivism as there is in the theorems of mathematics. This or that particular man perceives and accepts them or he does not. But his assent does not constitute, his dissent does not invalidate, either the theorem or the system. For in this respect there is in neither case any scope for choice, for free will, for liberty of opinion, for right of private judgment, in short for that which Captain Osborn claims as individualism. But if the proposition that "two and two make four whether you choose it or no" is really tyrannical, then Positivism, of which mathematics forms the fundamental constituent, cannot be acquitted of that very same charge.

One does not *argue* with a man whether he will or will not assent to the binomial theorem. All that the mathematician will care for is that the terms of the proposition be not inaccurately quoted. In like manner I am to correct certain errors and supply certain omissions of Captain Osborn's in so far as they affect the Indian programme of Positivism. Those who care to pursue the subject further can do so to more advan-

[* In accordance with the intention expressed in our last number of freely giving a place in our pages to the independent expression of every phase of opinion, we publish the above reply to some recent criticisms in this *Review*. We trust, however, that our doing so will not be regarded as establishing a precedent; for it is obvious that we cannot often

undertake to publish answers to our critical articles, or to allow our pages to become the arena of political or religious controversy. Mr. Geddes' paper was written last November; but we were unable to insert it in our January number, partly for want of space, partly because it seemed only fair to give Captain Osborn an opportunity of reply.—EDITOR.]

tage by referring to Dr. Congreve's original pamphlet which forms the subject of the former criticism now under correction.

Captain Osborn strives to attune his audience for the particular matter in hand by a long overture of universal derision. If he finds the principles of Positivism to be so absolutely worthless he is certainly unwise in wasting any attention whatsoever upon them, and this is an inconsistency which naturally suggests a consciousness of weakness in his own cause. I shall select a specimen bar or two from the overture. "Poets are to write poetry only after a particular fashion, the very length of their poems and the structure of their verse having been given in detail by the illustrious Comte; science is hedged in by certain Hercules' pillars—Comte having at some time or other passed into the unknown regions beyond and come back with the information that nothing of practical utility was to be found there; Metaphysics and Psychology are alike expelled; while all those feelings, hopes, aspirations, joys and sorrows which have sought for satisfaction in something more enduring than this transient life are labelled 'delusions' and strictly forbidden to the faithful. Lastly, no one is to emigrate from his own country to another or even apparently to leave his own home, unless he is prepared to identify himself absolutely with the new people among whom he goes, as such practices, &c."

All this would be very scathing were it not that it lacks the one thing needful,—truthfulness. Thus with regard to the fantastic limitations of poetry attributed to Comte, Captain Osborn is doubtless trusting to some imperfect fragment of a clause or sentence which having been disjoined from its context in a former quotation comes now to be doubly travestied at second hand in a fashion hitherto not uncommon with critics of the positive philosophy, but now-a-days becoming less and less effective.

It so happens that Comte in deprecating habits of random reading and irregular study, habits arising from inexperience and want of guidance, has recommended for his readers' special attention during the present and next generations a selection of certain standard works (150 volumes) in poetry, science, history and religion. The thirty volumes of poetry which have been especially recommended by the illustrious Comte include the works of every poet of the higher order from Homer to Goethe. They range from Pindar to Molière, from Virgil to Alfieri, from Dante to Byron, from Aristophanes to Milton. When Captain Osborn next tries the poetry fence against Positivism he will get on better if he decry Comte's toleration as being too extensive rather than his proscription as being too exclusive. He will make finer sport and "split the ears of the groundlings" if he fasten not on Comte's fastidiousness about rhythm but on that lax

latitudinarianism of his which could have comprehended the *Prometheus Vincit*, the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, and *As You Like It* in one and the same collection of *poetry*.

Then again "metaphysics and psychology are alike expelled." The fact is Comte did insist that metaphysics and the metaphysical method form a universal stage of transition which is necessarily undergone by every mind whatsoever while passing in one or more branches of thought from the theology of infancy to the positivism of mature age. What Comte did urge was that this intermediate stage of metaphysics should not be prolonged beyond what is absolutely necessary. Captain Osborn might as reasonably represent St. Paul as having expelled childhood from human life in saying, "When I was a child I thought as a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, but when I became 'a man, &c.'" With regard to psychology, Comte so far from denouncing the real objects of psychological study, has himself made the most signal contributions to science in this very department. But he did denounce and (as it is now generally admitted) with justice certain fantastic jargon about 'intuitive knowledge' and so forth, some remains of which still pass current under the august titles of psychology, ontology, &c., and in reality are of precisely the same order in scientific progress as the alchemists' theory of phlogiston.

With regard to those inaccuracies of Captain Osborn which I have just corrected they are not so much to be wondered at; because they are such as might naturally have arisen from a cursory perusal of fragmentary quotations and imperfect descriptions written even by men who have been very largely indebted to Comte's own labours for the considerable reputations which they themselves have won. At the same time it behoves one who ventures to criticise as Captain Osborn does, to be careful beforehand in verifying quotations and in acquainting himself with the original works and not to trust to secondhand information from any authors however exalted. But in regard to Captain Osborn's version of Dr. Congreve's observations on travel, emigration and commerce, there is not even this partial excuse. Dr. Congreve's words on these subjects are full, clear and explicit, and they will in no wise bear out Captain Osborn's account of them. How Dr. Congreve, if holding such preposterous opinions as Captain Osborn attributes to him, should have been deemed worthy of the slightest notice, is far from easy to make out.

Such, then, is the dust which Captain Osborn tries to raise at starting, if so be he may forestall a prejudice on the question of altruist principles as specially applied to Indian politics. Positivists so far from being put out by this kind of manœuvring only find in it the occasion for firmer confidence than before. They

know that the whole tendency of philosophic enquiry for the last forty years has been attesting the accuracy of perception and the soundness of judgment with which Comte set aside those pretended systems of metaphysics, psychology, and constitutionalism which he found in their heyday throughout the academies and the bureaus. Considering that the uniform experience of the past generation has confirmed his youthful forethought in each and all of these courses alike of speculation and action, it is not likely that his mature judgment will prove to have been mistaken on the far simpler phase which concerns this ephemeral empire of the English in India. The verification which already has been found successful throughout so much of the great circle's circumference is not likely now to fall short in this a diminutive segment.

Passing now from the overture to the body of the performance, I perceive that Captain Osborn professes to have been pleased to spare Dr. Congreve the exposure of a grievous blunder which the Captain claims to have discovered. This blunder, which is twice attributed to Dr. Congreve, consists in having according to the critic spoken of India as if it were inhabited by a single homogeneous people and so were even capable of possessing national independence at all. What is the actual fact? Dr. Congreve has most emphatically spoken of the populations of India as being heterogeneous in speech, in polity and in religion. Indeed according to Dr. Congreve, it is the one cardinal defect of our dominion that, so far from fusing the native populations with each other, much less with ourselves, we do but break up without reconstructing native society, and do but dissolve without replacing native belief. With ourselves in Europe, society has risen out of the military into the industrial condition of civilization. Therefore for us the season and the capacity for consolidating and civilising alien populations by warfare has long passed away, thanks to those Romans in ancient Europe who, unlike to the English in Asia, regarded the social incorporation of citizenship and not the commercial servitude of exploitation as the chief end of conquest. Officials and *littérateurs* may continue to put forth their anachronisms about a Roman mission of the English in India, but that kind of rhodomontade has been getting somewhat musty since the bluster of the Napoleons and Napoleonids about senates and plebiscites, about legions and eagles, the wooden eagles and the tame one.

Captain Osborn's canon of homogeneousness as the international franchise to qualify for independence is deserving of careful attention. For we hear a great deal about the race theory in these days when, as Comte says, any pretender can put on a cheap and easy show of scientific-like method if he glibly talk about races as in former days he would have talked about climates. With your fashionable Anglo-Indian, ethnical caste will

explain every social phenomenon given or assumed, from the Aryan distaste for opium to the Aryan taste for parliamentary municipalities. Nevertheless Captain Osborn's application of the race specific in this canon of his about homogeneousness leads to some most startling results. Homogeneousness? The population of Galway, where the author of a namby-pamby commentary on *Ecce Homo* has recently been ratifying the persecution of a Christian priesthood, are they homogeneous with the population whom Mr. Gladstone governs in South Kensington? How then according to Captain Osborn's test shall the population, of the United Kingdom pretend to national independence? But if Captain Osborn will not disdain a lesson from Positivism he may yet discover that homogeneousness among a population is after all a matter of degree, it is not *absolute* (in short, to repeat a term which Captain Osborn naturally objects to), it is but *relative*. On this subject of national homogeneousness in reference to India, the reader will find more at page 50 and other passages of Dr. Congreve's pamphlet under review.

Captain Osborn also makes one or two notable attempts to wield the arm of Positivism against itself. He quotes these words of Dr. Congreve about India and England: "In the present case what we wish, what we aim at is, to bring to a close peaceably and in the best possible way the, to us, acknowledged evil of our supremacy over another country *equally with ourselves entitled to its national independence.*" Captain Osborn then proceeds as follows (the italics are ours):—"We will pass over the blunder involved in India as inhabited by a single homogeneous people and as therefore so much as capable of possessing 'national independence.' We will confine ourselves to the error involved in the word 'entitled.' There are only two senses in which this word can be used in the present connection, and Dr. Congreve can use it in neither without a flat contradiction of some of the fundamental tenets of Positivism. A nation may be said to be 'equally entitled' with ourselves to independence on the hypothesis that all peoples as such possess an *a priori* metaphysical 'right' to freedom, a meaning which Positivism would indignantly repudiate. We are then thrown back on the other alternative,—the argument from experience, that only those nations are entitled to their freedom which have the courage and the patriotism to preserve it."

Captain Osborn is as unfortunate in his travesty about Positivism and political rights as he is in that about Positivism and poetical rhythms. With regard to the first of his two dilemmas about "entitled," Positivists, unlike those Anglo-Indians who will abolish a popular language or create a municipal system by decree, are in the habit of contentedly using the words of common

speech. For Captain Osborn is quite mistaken when he represents Positivists as petulantly insisting on any absoluteness of intrinsic accuracy in words. (They leave that to the metaphysicians.) Without any disparagement to Galileo's discovery, they speak and always will speak of the sun rising and the sun setting, but when there is occasion to reason about these things they do consider it necessary to remember what that movement really is which is and always will be conveniently described by the popular terms sunrise and sunset. They have a prejudice against disposing of the subject in Captain Osborn's fashion by drawing up syllogisms about *rise* meaning *ascent* and *set* meaning *decline* and so forth. In like manner positivists will speak about *rights*, for example *the rights of belligerents* so shamefully transgressed by the English in 1857 and 1858, in which years not a few natives *did* have the courage and the patriotism to vindicate their freedom. But when there is occasion to reason strictly on the subject of rights, when as often happens with that word there is occasion to avoid wrangling about the definitions of a mere word, then positivists revert to the scientific point of view with the rights of men not less than with the rising of the sun. That point of view, alike moral and scientific, of the relations between man and man is this, that the only rational and the only serviceable standard of guidance for peoples as for individuals is not the rights which they claim from but the duties which they owe to each other. Accordingly Dr. Congreve in speaking of the natives' rights means not the rights of the natives as considered in Captain Osborn's fashion *absolutely* and by themselves, but of the natives as considered *relatively* (Captain Osborn's pet abhorrence again!) in relation to the other people of whom also he is speaking at the same time, namely the English. In other and more precise words what he means by the natives' rights, is our duties to the natives.

There remains only one more feature in Captain Osborn's criticism which is worth noticing. He heads his review with the title of a discourse delivered in 1872, with which has been reprinted as an appendix a pamphlet of 1857 that is referred to in the body of the discourse. He then directs an attack against a special proposal in the latter for an urgent emergency, without however thinking it proper to mention the dates. To have cited the dates and to have alluded to the situation under which this measure was recommended during a tremendous crisis fifteen years ago might have interfered with the Captain's attempt to be funny. To most men it would have seemed but reasonable to observe Dr. Congreve's own remarks of 1872 appended to his reprint of 1857 as follow (Note B. pp. 72, 74): "I reprint the pamphlet on India without any alteration. The point in it is the principle, and any details which might be changed are unimportant."

" In its substance I see nothing which I would wish to alter. Nor
 " *is there any use in discussing at present methods by which*
 " *its object, the abandonment of our Indian empire, might be*
 " *safely brought about.* If there were once to prevail the con-
 " viction that such abandonment was desirable, it would be time
 " to attend to the means. As there is no such general conviction,
 " the immediate duty is to work at its formation. Others are,
 " I am happy to believe, co-operating towards this end from other
 " points of view, and events also are more or less rapidly tending
 " in the same direction. Where a position is a radically unsound
 " one, sooner or later it becomes untenable. A statesmanlike
 " forethought has seldom been more needed than on this question,
 " but our system of government is such as to hold out little
 " hope of such forethought, so that apparently we shall drift on to
 " the dangers with which our Indian connection is fraught without
 " any attempt to obviate them, in the blind determination to hold
 " what we have once got till we can hold it no longer. As for
 " Ireland, so for India, the language is, 'We will not let the people
 " go.' It is an old but dangerous position."

As Dr. Congreve says, the present is not the time to be settling the particular details of the general policy of withdrawal. Enough for the present that the general principle be secured. Thus, for example, it would be unprofitable as yet to be forestalling events and to be deliberating at which of the particular robberies of Lord Dalhousie restitution ought to be begun. It would be premature to be deciding in 1872 whether the work of reconstruction should begin, or whether it should end, at the historically dominant valley of the Ganges. When once a conviction prevails that our withdrawal is desirable, then will be the time for determining according to the circumstances of the situation, which shall be the particular steps and what the serial order of the steps.

And yet, taking on its merits that programme which, urged in 1857 in discharge of a conscientious feeling of duty with confessedly no expectation of its adoption, now calls forth Captain Osborn's ridicule in 1872, positivists will not shrink from sinking the element of time and accepting a comparison between those pretences at self-government now being inaugurated throughout India and the Positivist policy of veritable self-government recommended fifteen years ago. Positivists have not so misread history as to mistake for statesmanship that measure (for relieving an insolvent exchequer through the extension of an already oppressive taxation) whereby, under a disguise of financial decentralising, a few pretenders to statecraft are now thinking to screen or to even avert the incipient collapse. Positivists are not so ignorant of the past nor so blind to the present as not to estimate at their true value those various masquerades of self-government, rural and

urban, from the Road Cess Committees up to the *tulchan* * municipalities by which this country is being at once afflicted and degraded.

Positivists know that where there has not been an effectual incorporation, either political like that of the Cæsars, or social like that of the Charlemagnes, there cannot possibly be a healthy disintegration like that of the fiefs or that of the municipalities. They know that the rise of the free towns in Europe was the seasonable outcome from a long series of developments and came to pass at a period when, without a single enactment from any legislative council, the very latest vestige of hereditary caste was disappearing even from rural society in the final form of feudal primogeniture, and when urban society was being reconstituted on an industrial basis simultaneously with a wonderful progress in the textile and the other manufactures. Accordingly positivists on reading the official Indian palaver about decentralising and municipalising are not to be deceived, when in a society still mainly based upon caste and not even arrived at the transition of primogeniture, a few bureaucrats are pretending to set up exotic municipalities with the one hand, while in reality they are crushing out indigenous manufactures with the other. Positivists will as soon expect to see these doctrinaires succeed in setting up statues of ice at Fort William and Fort St. George. Positivists are of opinion that the political and social institutions really indigenous to India had better be allowed to develop in their own natural course. Or, if Captain Osborn will let me have the loan of his simile, Positivists while not thinking overmuch of the Dutch pattern or the English pattern of shrub clipping, while not greatly admiring the parliamentary tree of English constitutionalism as now docked with this Reform Act, now pruned with this Ballot knife, are not inclined to force the yew

* "Did the reader ever see or
"fancy in his mind a tulchan? A
"tulchan is, or rather was, for the
"thing is long since obsolete, a calf-
"skin stuffed into the rude similitude
"of a calf,—similar enough to de-
"ceive the imperfect perceptive or-
"gans of a cow. At milking-time
"the tulchan with head duly bent was
"set as if to suck; the fond cow look-
"ing round fancied that her calf was
"busy and that all was right and so
"gave her milk freely, which the
"cunning maid was straining in
"white abundance into her pail all
"the while! The Scotch milkmaids
"in those days cried 'Where is the
"tulchan? Is the tulchan ready?"

"So of the Bishops. Scotch lairds
"were eager enough to milk the
"Church lands and tithes to get the
"rents out of them freely, which was
"not always easy. They were glad
"to construct a FORM of Bishops to
"please the King and Church and
"make the milk come without dis-
"turbance. The reader now knows
"what a tulchan Bishop was. A
"piece of mechanism constructed not
"without difficulty in Parliament
"and King's Council among the Scots,
"and torn asunder afterwards with
"dreadful clamour and scattered to
"the four winds as soon as the cow
"became awake to it." (Carlyle's
Cromwell).

tree on an Indian soil and climate at all. Nor are they disposed to go lopping every now and then at the sickly exotic with the everlasting statutes and amending statutes so as to try and make it somewhat resemble the paragon of the English vestry.

If Positivists do not fear a comparison between their Indian programme of 1857 and these Indian poltrooneries of 1872, still less will they shrink from a comparison between the two contemporary policies of 1857,—between that policy of blood and iron which did actually obtain, and that other policy, alike wise and humane, by which this deplorable dominion might have been brought to an earlier close. As Captain Osborn has thought proper to withhold all mention of or allusion to these circumstances, however inseparable from the subject of his criticism, it remains for me to recall them to mind. I do so in the words of a Positivist manifesto which was placarded in 1859, and which I cite from page 600 of *Notice sur l'œuvre et sur la vie d'Auguste Comte par le docteur Robinet* :—

“ *The Thanksgiving ordered for May 1st, 1859.*

“ *Believing the cause of the English in India to be unjust, that of the Hindoos just, as the legitimate effort of a nation to shake off an oppressive foreign yoke; believing, consequently, the English success to be the triumph of force over right :*

“ *Considering, secondly, that even had our cause been just, it has been disgraced at home by fraudulent misrepresentations, by the exhibition of a ferocious spirit of vengeance, and disgraced in India by atrocious cruelties, that we have been demoralised ourselves and lowered in the eyes of all nations :*

“ *Considering, lastly, that the English victory is but the source of many evils to us as a nation, involving a further pressure on the already overtaxed and suffering poor of this country, and the sacrifice of the lives of English soldiers drawn from the same class :*

“ *I hereby do all that is in my power as a private Englishman to clear myself and induce others to reflect :*

“ *In the name of Humanity, I publicly protest against the Thanksgiving of the 1st of May, as an act at variance with our national professions as a free people, repugnant to the spirit of the Christianity which the nation yet recognises, and an outrage upon the higher feelings of mankind.*”

Richard Congreve.

*South Fields, Wandsworth ; }
April 19, 1859.*

JAMES GEDDES.

[REPLY TO MR. GEDDES.—The Editor of the *Calcutta Review* has courteously allowed me to say what I can to clear myself of the charges brought against me by Mr. Geddes; and I gladly avail myself of the permission. Into the general questions raised by Mr. Geddes, as to the durability and morality of the British Empire in India, I need not enter. It is Mr. Geddes' misfortune to believe that nearly every one who is not a Positivist, is either a knave or a fool—a "pretentious optimist" or a "Christian ruffian"—or failing these a "driveller," of which I find from his other writings there are two kinds—"the sleek" and "the rhetorical." This classification of humanity naturally engenders a jaundiced view, not only of our Indian Empire, but of our planet in general. It is to him all one chaos of lies and hypocrisies, save here and there, where a solitary Positivist sends "far into the bosom of dim night a glimmering dawn." The merits, also, of Positivism I will leave untouched. It would be a waste of time to argue with Mr. Geddes on such a subject. Indeed, he frankly says that he "would not condescend to argue" with a man, who having accepted the binomial theorem, does not see that he is logically committed to the belief that forty thousand bankers ought to govern the world, and a man should worship his mother, either "subjective" or "objective." Now, I candidly confess that my logical insight is far too dim to trace the connection here between the premises and the conclusion, and I must be content to bear Mr. Geddes' enlightened scorn, with what patience I may. But Mr. Geddes accuses me of various literary sins, and these I will try to clear myself of.

First.—He says that Comte, so far from being illiberal to his followers in respect of the poetry he permitted them to read, actually selected for their use thirty volumes, and he trusts that when I know this, I shall accuse Comte of having been rather over generous than unduly restrictive. It will startle Mr. Geddes, but thirty volumes of poetry appear to me a very small and insufficient quantity, when we consider the untold treasures of that kind that exist in the world. And when I remember that Comte actually proposed that a general holocaust should be made of all the books not included in his 150 volumes of prose and verse, I am lost in amazement at the combined arrogance and folly of that philosopher. But Mr. Geddes is mistaken if he supposes that Comte has not laid down very precise rules for the composition of all works of importance both prose and poetry. Among his later aberrations was a superstitious veneration for the two primary numbers 7 and 13, and all works of importance were to be constructed with reference to them. Great poems, he held, ought to consist of thirteen cantos; the introduction and conclusion of a great poem should comprehend six of these thirteen cantos, leaving the cabalistical number seven for

the body of the poem: He also laid down a rule that each section of a canto should begin with a letter of the alphabet, determined beforehand, the letters being selected so as to compose words having "a synthetic or sympathetic signification." I have not the least idea what this means, but the fact is so.

Mr. Geddes' next charge against me is, that "Comte so far from denouncing the real objects of psychological study, has himself made the most signal contributions to science in this very department." This is partially true, partially incorrect. Comte's law of the three states, so far as it is anything, is an interpretation of consciousness, and therefore a contribution to psychology. But Comte, like all the writers of his school with whom I am acquainted, is continually running counter to his own doctrines, and it is notorious that he denied the validity of psychology, as a method of investigation. This has been pointed out by Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Martineau, and is reluctantly admitted by such thoroughgoing admirers as Mr. G. H. Lewes and Mr. Brydges. Comte's dictum regarding psychology is familiar to most students of philosophy. He held that the human mind is debarred by what he called "an invincible necessity" from any profitable introspection, because here the organ *observed* and the organ *observing* are one and the same thing, and it is impossible for the thinking individual to divide himself in two.

Mr. Geddes seems to admit that "metaphysics" are to form no part of Positivist studies, so I need waste no time in proving this to be the case by extracts from the *Philosophie Politique*. Mr. Geddes' third charge is that I have wilfully misrepresented Dr. Congreve's observations on travel, emigration and commerce, but as he does not state in what manner I have done so, it is impossible for me to rebut this accusation. I certainly gave no other account of them than what I believed to be a correct one.

Mr. Geddes is then angry with me for not having understood that when Dr. Congreve spoke of "the rights" of the natives, he meant "our duties" towards them, and he affirms vehemently that Dr. Congreve did so in obedience to the exigencies of popular language,—that people in fact, always speak of "rights" when they mean "duties." I can assure Mr. Geddes that I was quite unaware of this singular practice, and even now I feel doubtful if it exists anywhere except in the brains of a few Positivists, who are more wholly possessed with hallucinations of all kinds than any other people I have ever seen or heard of.

Mr. Geddes then tries to make out that Dr. Congreve's ridiculous proposals about the Sultan of Turkey and the "eminent Brahmin" were intended only for 1857, not for 1872; but I do not see that he makes this out. Dr. Congreve speaking of his

pamphlet says, "in its substance I see nothing I would wish to alter." Of course it may be argued that these particular proposals did not constitute the "substance" of the pamphlet. I can only say that if you take them away there seems to me to be nothing left at all. I certainly understood Dr. Congreve to mean that he stood by his old proposals, though he did not at the present time think it expedient to discuss them. At any rate, had he been aware of their unspeakable absurdity he would hardly have reproduced them after they had passed out of the memory of all men.

At this point Mr. Geddes leaves me, and passes to the more congenial task of abusing the world in general; and the English in India in particular. Here I do not propose to follow him; though I cannot refrain from expressing my wonder that Mr. Geddes does not separate himself from the unclean thing without further delay. If he finds it impossible to do so, and if he finds, as I suppose he must, that the fact of this impossibility quiets the stings of conscience, why is he always maligning and reviling other people for not doing that which he will not do himself? England cannot abandon India even if she wanted to do so; and there is an end of the matter. Life is too short to be wasted in discussing the propriety of achieving the impossible. Not that I hold that it would be for the advantage of either people that she should do so. I leave such opinions to the followers of M. Comte, who ought, I think, to fit out another *Argo*, and try to discover the kingdom of *Laputa*. They and their ideas would find congenial society there.

R. D. OSBORN.]

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Ratnavediká Nátaka. By Probodh Chandra Chattopádhya. Calcutta: G. P. Roy and Co's Press. 1279.

GAJAPATI RAY, the Rajah of Guzerat, had stolen away Ratnavediká, the daughter of the Rajah of Concan, by tampering with a servant-maid, to marry her to his ugly son. Now, this prince had long been suffering from consumption, and fell a victim to his dire disease just on the eve of his marriage. The childless Rajah now seeing no other means of justifying himself in keeping Ratnavediká in his house any longer, took a fancy to her, and determined to make her his consort. One evening, seeing Ratnavediká alone in the garden, he began to make overtures to her; but his addresses were received very coldly on the part of the virtuous maid. Unwilling to be baffled he was proceeding to questionable lengths, when he was hindered in his attempts by a severe and unexpected reprimand from some one without. The princess seized this opportunity to make her escape through a narrow pass leading to a temple of Siva; and while doing so, encountered a handsome looking youth who turned out to be her unknown deliverer, and *instantly* fell in love with him, though she had not then even a glimpse of his face, on account of the darkness which enveloped the face of things. The youth was then seized and doomed to pay for his crime with his life; but the sentence was mitigated at the kind intercession of the Vazír, and commuted to an imprisonment for a year. No sooner was he lodged in prison, than the daughter of the King, having nothing else to do, fell in love with him, and became instrumental in effecting his escape. In the meantime Ratnavediká's father, incensed at the insult offered him, declared war against Gajapati Ráj, defeated his armies, and laid siege to his capital. By the wise counsels of the minister, a treaty was concluded between the two monarchs; but when the Rajah of Concan demanded the restoration of his daughter, Ratnavediká was nowhere to be seen. She had fled from the town, but meeting with unknown dangers near the banks of the Narmadá (Nerbaddah), began crying aloud and cursing her malicious stars. Fortunately, her dear youth was near at hand to lend her his assistance. Then took place a scene which had neither rhyme nor reason in it; but which ended happily in a complete avowal of their mutual loves. Just at this moment, the King of Concan came in search of his daughter, sword in hand,

and demanded of the youth an access to the adjacent cave where the princess had taken shelter; but the youth having refused, a fierce combat ensued, in which the monarch was severely wounded, and fell to the ground with the exclamation, "Alas, my daughter!" This discovered his person to the princess who began forthwith to rend the skies with her piercing shrieks of woe. The wound not proving fatal, the monarch recovered soon afterwards, and as a reward to the youth for his heroic defence of Ratnavediká, consented to give her to him in marriage. Gajapati Ráy objected to the proposal, on the ground of the youth being of unknown origin, but the inquiries that were instituted for that purpose ended in his turning out to be the long-lost son of the minister of Gajapati Ráy. This minister again was the real owner of the kingdom, but had by the force of adverse circumstances been obliged to accept the humbler post of premier. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, and Gajapati, unable any longer to suffer the pangs which his conscience was inflicting on him for his illegal usurpation of the kingdom, made it over to the youth and went to the forest. Amidst these scenes of exultation, the daughter of Gajapati Ráy, who had hopelessly fallen in love with the youth, seeing him lost to her for ever, prematurely put an end to her existence.

This in plain words is the story contained in the book. But the perusal of the works of the ancient Indian, Grecian, and Roman dramatists, and of Shakespeare and Goethe in modern times, has given other notions of a play than a series of dialogues divided into acts and scenes, and interrupted only by *exits* and *entrances*. No doubt some ultraradicals among the Bengali dramatists may denounce us as the "nurse-children of a severe optimism;" but for all that, the dictum of the Stagyræ, that "the drama must have a beginning, a middle and an end, and that the several incidents must all tend to hasten and enhance the catastrophe," has maintained its ground firm, against all the adverse criticisms which have been directed against it in all successive ages, and the truth of it is now, we believe, recognised by all reasonable art critics. The book before us is deficient in all the characteristics of a drama. Its tragic scenes move no tears, nor do the comic ones any laughter; indeed we can scarcely make out whether it is a tragedy, or a comedy, or a tragi-comedy. Love at first sight is now so hopelessly obsolete, that scarcely any modern reader feels any interest in it. But our author, if he has failed in this and other points in the execution of his work, has certainly succeeded in sketching the character of the servant maid, and showing what amount of wickedness women of the low classes in India are prone to, when incited to it by gold.

Bīrāvalī Kāvya. By Rājā Upendranārāyan Rāy Chaudhurī.
Calcutta: New Indian Press. Samvat 1928.

SOME critics assert that when a poet takes the story of his poem from some other works, and adds the graces of his own genius only to embellish it, half his credit ought to be subtracted. But these critics ought to consider that it is no very difficult matter for that poet to spin out a story, who is fortunate enough to extort a favourable verdict from the tribunal of criticism, by the melody of his versification and the sweetness of his diction, his beautiful imageries and his natural descriptions. Is Chaucer less a poet, because he borrowed his "Knights Tale" from the *Theseida* of Boccaccio? Or is Shakespeare less original, because the plot of almost all his non-historical tragedies and comedies can be traced to some ancient tale? Here is a poem that takes all its topics from some of the celebrated scenes of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*; but here though the reading public can, almost all of them, fully anticipate what the author has to say, they will no doubt be pleasantly disappointed, to find that the author has appareled his stories in quite a different garb from that of Vālmīki or Vyāsa.

Some among these borrowed topics are "The Friendship of Rāma and Sugrīva," "The letter of Rāvana to Rāma," "The death of Karna," "The efforts of Jatāya for the rescue of Sitā," &c. Splendid passages there are many; and the similes, with which the poem abounds, are for the most part very apt ones. The sorrow of Arjuna at the death of his son is truly pathetic, but the heroic scenes seem to breathe a spirit of timidity—the characteristic of a Bengālī warrior—to which a harsher name even may be applied.

But philological criticism can hardly fail to discover some blemishes in this book, which it would be unfair to pass over. The author has made use of many words which can scarcely be justified by reputable or national usage. The strange distortion of some, and the unnecessary amplification of others, present such an unnatural appearance, when placed side by side with the *sesquipedalia verba* of Sanskrit extraction, that the student of language seems at a loss to make out whether these disguised words belong to the Aryan or the Allophylian families of speech. True, the variety of dialects may collectively form a greater number of authorities than national usage can boast; but taken singly they are few—and those, to use Campbell's apposite similitude, who deviate from the beaten road may be incomparably more numerous than those who travel in it, yet into whatever number of by-paths the former may be divided, there may not be found in any one of these tracks so many as travel in the king's highway. "The province of criticism," says Dr. Crombie, "is not only to remonstrate against the introduction of any word or phraseology, which may be either unnecessary or contrary to analogy, but also to extrude whatever is reprehensible."

sible, though in general use." It is by this exercise of her prerogative that languages are gradually refined and improved; and were this denied, language would soon become stationary, or more probably would hasten to decline. In exercising this authority, she can not pretend to degrade instantly any phraseology, which she may deem objectionable; but she may, by repeated remonstrances, gradually effect its dismissal. One of the chief causes of a book being prized by foreigners, apart from its intrinsic merits, is its intelligibility. Michael Madhu Sudan Datta, though incontestably the best of the Bengáli poets of the present day, is not much read by foreigners simply on account of his corrupt and unjustifiable terminology. But our author, who has imitated Mr. Datta very closely, and has even borrowed whole lines from his works, has not proceeded to such lengths as his original in this work of dilapidation. On the whole he has shown considerable power in the poem under review; and should he go on exercising his powers, we doubt not that he may some day or other prove no inconsiderable rival to the popular poets of the day.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Essays on Eastern Questions. By W. G. Palgrave, Author of "Central and Eastern Arabia." London: Macmillan and Co. 1872.

MR. PALGRAVE possesses many qualifications necessary for a writer on Muhammadan subjects. Hitherto with few exceptions English Orientalists have been men without much breadth of culture or philosophical training, who have become authors rather by the force of circumstance than any inner compulsion. They have had the antiquarian rather than the historical spirit. The creation of the antiquarian we hold to be a very striking illustration of the beneficent arrangements of Providence in the constitution of the universe—his work is so essential to a right understanding of the Past, and yet to most people so intensely repulsive. The exact site of Cæsar's camp at a particular crisis—the exact distance from one half-forgotten locality to another half-forgotten locality—the precise spot in which a certain man was buried—the precise number of men that were collected on a certain spot on a certain occasion—it is from the accumulation of a multitude of such isolated and seemingly trifling facts that it is possible to deduce the general laws of human action—the great currents of thought and feeling that underlie the vicissitudes of history. Without them no verification would be possible; and yet it may be accepted as a fact to which there are rare or no exceptions that the men who are capable of discern-

ing these general laws would never submit to the drudgery requisite to collect the innumerable trifling details on which they depend. At this conjuncture a beneficent Providence steps in and creates the antiquarian,—a hewer of wood, and a drawer of water who takes a pride and finds a glory in his work. His mind is so constituted that he cares nothing for general laws, for broad sweeps of observation over centuries of history. The small and the particular are his chosen spheres of action. The antiquarian, according to the idea, should be a man destitute of imagination and careless of the graces of style. Both these capabilities are apt to interpose a distorting haze between him and the hard concrete fact it is his mission to bring before the world; while his distinguishing characteristics ought to be a repulsive dryness, a grim matter of factness, an insensibility to proportion which causes the “infinitely little” to appear a thing of quite surpassing importance. Now, this order of being is, perhaps, nowhere to be found in such great perfection as among English Orientalists. Except by a historian in search of details it is quite impossible to read anything they write. This is just as it should be. But unhappily for “the general reader”—that greedy and omnivorous being,—England has hitherto only produced this type of Orientalist. The Oriental Antiquarian we have in great perfection; the oriental historian is still to come. The consequence is that though we rule over thirty millions of Muhammadans, though our interests are intertangled at numerous points of contact with those of Islam, we have not a single English work which gives an intelligible account of the growth of Muhammadanism, and the nature of the forces, social, moral, and political that made it what it has been and what it is. Gibbon’s chapters in the *Decline and Fall*, which treat of the Prophet and his successors are the nearest approach to such a work, but they are sneering and superficial, composed of the slenderest material and giving no insight to the secret springs of action. Vambéry’s *History of Bokhara* will do something towards filling up this void, but the writer is not an Englishman and his work cannot be brought to our credit. There was one Englishman—Claudius James Rich—who, had he lived, might, perhaps, have produced a history of the Muhammadan period which would have left nothing to desire. He was a member of the Bombay Civil Service, and for many years Resident at Baghdad. He had a perfect knowledge of Persian and Arabic; he was, according to the testimony of all who knew him, endowed with remarkable mental powers, and during his stay at Baghdad he made a collection of books and manuscripts illustrating the history of Islam of quite unequalled value, and which are at present deposited in the British Museum. But he was carried off by cholera, at the early age of

thirty-three, in the year 1821, and no one has since appeared to make good his loss.

Mr. Gifford Palgrave might do something. He has lived long in the East; is familiar with the natives, their habits and ways of thought; and speaks Arabic with as much ease and fluency as his own language. He is, moreover, a man of culture and imagination, gifted with a free flowing and picturesque style, and apparently well read in oriental history. Unhappily he has one defect which goes far to mar all these excellent qualities. He is deeply tainted with the vice of sensationalism—that curse on modern historical treatises. History now-a-days, must not be only truthful and instructive; it must, as the saying goes, be “as interesting as a romance” or the public will have none of it. Consequently histories are produced which do their best to combine the dignity of philosophy with the startling effects of the latest novel. Carlyle is, perhaps, the first author who suggested the possibility of effecting this change. Macaulay, it is true, was held at one time to be specially great in portrait painting, but his pictures did not in reality present the image of any man whatever. They were all painted after one model, in startling and violent contrasts of light and shade like the alternate blacks and whites of a chess-board. Every notable man who had left his mark upon history was introduced to the reader as the strangest compound of the best and worst qualities, which, seemingly, acted in perfect independence of each other. This was very soon discovered to be nothing but the trick of a brilliant *littérateur*, and raised up few imitators. But Carlyle is a man of most subtle and original genius. A reaction from the cold *unhuman* style of writing history in the eighteenth century drove him to the opposite extreme of finding the solution of everything in the individual action of “heroes” and crediting nothing to the general tendencies of an age. “History,” to quote the words of an eminent American critic, “in the true sense, he does not and cannot write, for he looks on mankind as a herd, without volition, and without moral force: but such vivid pictures of events, such living conceptions of character, we find nowhere else in prose. The figures of most historians seem like dolls stuffed with bran, whose whole substance runs out through any hole that criticism may tear in them; but Carlyle’s are so real in comparison that, if you prick them, they bleed.” This verdict, we think, would be accepted almost everywhere as a just one. The “heroical” interpretation of history, notwithstanding the menacing earnestness, and great genius of its preacher, is generally felt to be an inadequate one; but it has created a taste which grudges if it be not satisfied. “The general reader”—that vague but exacting entity—having once read the “march of the women to Versailles” or the vivid delineations of

Fontenoy and Dettingen, or the quarrels between Frederick and Voltaire, is highly discontented if all historical nutriment is not administered to him in the same highly spiced and stimulating form. But together with this word-painting he demands also a due modicum of philosophy. He likes to have "the spirit of the age" summed up in a few brief paragraphs, as having been this or that; this saves trouble, and prevents the mind distressing itself with unmanageable details. Just as Carlyle represents one extreme of historical thought, Comte may be said to stand at the other—that, namely, which leaves no place for individual action, but sees in all history only a process of evolution from one state to another, and which sets down individual volition as a phantasm of the imagination. Comte, however, notwithstanding the remarkable fury and clamorous rhetoric of his disciples, is rapidly passing into the obscurity and indifference which his merits deserve; but he like Carlyle, has aided powerfully in creating a taste. "The general reader" demands a philosophy of history though not prepared to accept as final the "law of the three states." The truth, he believes, lies somewhere midway between Carlyle and Comte, and few will deny that "the general reader"—who is a sagacious creature at bottom—has arrived at a sound conclusion. The consequence is that all producers of popular literature are adapting themselves to his tastes; and popular history may be summed up as "a series of states" interspersed here and there with a vividly drawn "hero" to give it a human interest. Mr. Gifford Palgrave is undoubtedly a popular writer and deserves to be so; and he conjures with these two instruments with great skill and success. The results, however, are not quite satisfactory. They fail to inspire confidence. We do not wish to depreciate his abilities, but the conditions under which oriental history has to be written do not allow, except to a very limited extent, of either portrait painting or sweeping generalisations; and consequently when we find an author indulging largely in both, we are tempted to fear that he draws upon his imagination for his facts. Thus, by way of example, the principal essays in the volume before us, are devoted to showing that there is a grand Muhammadan "Revival" going on through the regions of Islam, "a world movement, an epochal phenomenon that we can no more check or retard than we can hinder the tide from swelling in the English Channel when it has risen in the Atlantic." This Revival Mr. Palgrave considers to be a very serious business, vaguely hinting at a coming time, not very far off, when Christendom will be again assaulted by countless armies of Muhammadans, every individual of which will be the subject of an invincible religious enthusiasm. He does not say this in so many words; like the gloomy gamekeeper on the probable consequences of Mr. Winkle being entrusted with a gun, he only hints at it in

a dark way, which is exceedingly terrifying to those who have no means of testing what he says. And as a matter of fact, his vaticinations have produced a very considerable sensation in England. But a moment's consideration is sufficient to convince a reflecting man that a sweeping statement of this kind is no better than pure guesswork. Take even a European country with all its facilities of communication, with its newspaper and periodical press, with its various modes of discussing all political and social questions, remember that even with all these aids it is simply impossible to lay down with confidence what is the general feeling on any one subject whatever, and then transfer in imagination the scene to the East. Any general conclusions which a European draws regarding Eastern feeling must be the results of personal intercourse. Apart from this there is no medium of knowledge. The inhabitants, moreover, of each district can speak only for themselves; intercommunication beyond a certain small distance is so dangerous and difficult owing to the badness and insecurity of the roads, that practically it does not go on at all. Whatever therefore a single traveller may glean in his personal experience must be as nothing when compared with the vast *terra incognita* which lies outside of his observations. Take India for example; is it possible for any one here to form the most distant conception of what is passing through the minds of the thirty millions of Muhammadans scattered from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin? And if this be impossible here, it is inconceivably more difficult elsewhere. With respect to the body of the people in Persia, in Central Asia, Arabia, in Central Africa, or even in Turkey, there are not data anywhere on which to form a single trustworthy judgment about the general drift or character of religious feeling among them. Judging from the analogy of human nature everywhere else, we may be tolerably certain that the immense majority are too actively occupied with the simple struggle for existence to care about "world movements" or "epochal phenomena." We do not, however, say that Mr. Palgrave is not right. He may be for aught we know to the contrary. What we do assert is, that if he is correct it is by accident. Neither he nor any one else has the means of ascertaining the truth by any inductive process. These are facts which, it appears to us, must strike every one who thinks for a moment about the matter, and they spare us the necessity of any further inquiry. For if the knowledge be impossible *per se*, it is not worth while to advance a step further, and see if one part looks more or less probable than another.

But this way of dismissing the subject will certainly not satisfy most people. When a writer of distinguished ability comes forward and gravely asserts in print that "an epochal phenomenon" is going on through the whole Muhammadan world, people are glad to

believe it. It gives them "the creeps;" and "the creeps" are a pleasant sensation as every one knows who remembers the effect of a ghost story on his infantine mind. There is a pleasant and dignifying impression of mystery and sublimity imparted to one's insignificant existence when we are told on good authority that an "epochal phenomenon" is actually in process of evolution under our very noses. We confess to yielding to this temptation ourselves. No one positively believes in ghosts, but every one is always willing to listen to a ghost story; and we turned to Mr. Palgrave's pages quite willing to give a half credence to his bogies, provided they were well got up, with plenty of blue fire, and novel of their kind. But we were disappointed. Mr. Palgrave's bogies are too palpably impositions of the theatrical kind to excite any emotion beyond a certain mild amusement. The chief among them is in fact only our old friend "the Indian Mussalman" as depicted by Dr. Hunter. India's share in the "epochal movement" depends altogether upon the authenticity of "the Patna Caliphs," "the preachers nurtured in sedition," "the army of the Crescent," and the other scenic decorations so well known to the Indian public. Mr. Palgrave evidently believes in them all with quite undoubting faith—a circumstance which goes far to discredit his lucubrations altogether. It shows at least that of Indian Muhammadanism he can know nothing whatever, and therefore, when Mr. Palgrave speaks of "an epochal phenomenon" in which he expressly includes India, it will be safe to deduct considerably for the effects of a too fervid imagination, and to limit his conclusions to his own personal experience. The statement is, in fact, an example of that vice of generalising from an imperfect induction of which we took Comte's Law of the three states as a typical example. So much for Bogy No. I.

Bogy No. II is described in the following passage, which is one out of several similar in the book.

"We should accustom ourselves to look on our Indo-Mahomettan subjects, not as an isolated clique, girt in by our power, our institutions, and if need be, our bayonets, but as part and parcel of a great brotherhood that radiates, so to speak, from Mecca as its centre, &c. &c. With more justice than the first converts of Christianity, the Muslim may boast that 'the multitude of them that believe are of one heart and of one soul;' loss and gain are reckoned among them in common, the grievance of one is the grievance of all; and the enemy of one frontier is hated up to, and, where possible, assailed from the most distant other."

This picture of the unity of Islam is a favourite one of the Muhammadan alarmists. They are never weary of painting and repainting it; and it shows the profound ignorance of the European world regarding the life of Islam that it never fails to command admiration and assent. It is an audacious fiction contradicted at every step by

the whole tenor of Muhammadan history. Muhammad is traditionally reported to have said, that his faith would be sub-divided into seventy-two sects, and that all these save one (which he did not indicate) were reserved for everlasting torments. The speech was of course concocted long after the death of the Prophet, and manifestly in order to account for the fierce internal schisms, which, commencing immediately after the death of Muhammad, never ceased to tear and rend asunder the unity of Islam till they left it the feeble and exhausted thing it is at present. All through the period of the Caliphate these religious dissensions never ceased for a moment; and they were carried on with a matchless cruelty and bloodthirstiness. The Caliph himself invited the fierce Mongol Tchenghiz Khan to ravage the dominions of the Muhammadan Kings of Kharezm; the Crusaders could never have maintained themselves in Palestine and Syria but for the alliance of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt; at this present moment it is the disunion which prevents any co-operation between the potentates of Central Asia that is giving the Khanates into the hands of Russia; it is the bitter animosities that divide the Persian and the Turk, which place the existence of both in such imminent jeopardy; only thirty years ago, but for the interposition of the British Government, the Pasha of Egypt would have wrested his fairest provinces from the Sultan of Turkey; and ever since their first aggressive movement there has been war between the Sultan of Turkey and the Wahabees of Arabia. The calamities—and they are as numerous as the sands of the sea—which have descended upon the countries of Islam have, almost without exception, been occasioned because there was no unity in Islam,—because not merely no two adjoining States could not forget selfish interests in a common purpose, but because no two districts, no two cities could in times of peril be prevented from plotting each other's destruction. If Europe has nothing to fear until "the unity of Islam" is an accomplished fact, we may rank that danger in the same category as those astronomical possibilities which trouble some people—what would happen if the supply were exhausted of fuel in the sun; what would be the effect of a comet coming full tilt against the earth, or of a storm in the sun which should shoot out a tongue of flame sufficiently long to reach the earth. They are, we suppose, all possible contingencies, but as the Frenchman remarked regarding the existence of the Deity, they "want actuality." So much for Bogy No. II.

Bogy No. III. is what purports to be an account of the present state of Muhammadan feeling in India, and is a very finished piece of imaginative writing. Our readers will be at once struck with its remarkable truthfulness.

"So strong, indeed, is the bond of union supplied by the very name of Islam, even where that name covers the most divergent prin-

ciples and beliefs, that in presence of the "infidel," the deep cleft which divide Soonee and Sheeah are for a time and purpose obliterated; and the most heretical sects become awhile amalgamated with the most uncompromising orthodox, who in another cause, would naturally reject and disavow them. Very curious in this respect is the evidence afforded by Mr. Hunter In India, and most notably on its North-Western Frontier, the Sheeah superstitions of Imam and 'Mahdee' with the secret associations and murderous practices of the Ismayeeleeh or Assassins, so long established in the neighbourhood of these very provinces (A.D. 1000, 1200 *circiter*), and not improbably, as I have heard suggested on excellent authority, still maintaining an underhand existence there, have all combined together, and been toughly welded into one formidable weapon of attack on the common foe, the uncircumcised infidel of the land, governing or governed." We hardly know what to do with such a passage as this, except to admire the calm confidence with which a series of blunders are set down as undoubted facts. It is not to be wondered at if the many, who have no means of discovering the truth, should start at every feather when writers like Mr. Gifford Palgrave make such startling statements as the above, ignorant or careless whether or not they have a particle of truth in them. In India, we are told "the deep clefts which divide Soonee and Sheeah are for a time and purpose obliterated"—the purpose being to overthrow the British Empire. The recent outbreak in Cashmere when the Soonees murdered and plundered the Sheeahs is sufficient to rebut this assertion; but quite apart from this, every one who has conversed with Indian Muhammadans knows that the gulf between the two sects is as broad and deep as ever, though the power of British rule restrains them from a public exhibition of it. This is among the more orthodox and educated Muhammadans; there is, however, a sense in which among the many "the deep gulf" is obliterated, by both parties degenerating into Hindoo practices and superstitions, as for example, the ceremonies of the Mohurram; while amongst the lower orders of Muhammadans the difference ceases to exist because very few of them know whether they be Soonees or Sheeahs. The present writer, for curiosity's sake, has made a point of asking uneducated Muhammadans the sect to which they belong; but does not remember to have met with one who could tell him. They referred him generally to some deceased relative who was supposed to have this knowledge once, but the tradition had ceased with him. But this "obliteration" is not of the nature spoken of by Mr. Palgrave, and is certainly not actuated by an overwhelming desire to subordinate all minor matters to a holy war against the British Government. We are then told that "the sect of the Assassins" was for a long time established close to our

North-Western Frontier—that they probably exist at the present day—and that owing to them, in India and along our North-West Frontier, “the Sheeah superstitions of Imam and ‘Mahdee,’ with the secret associations and murderous practices of the Ismaeleeyeh have been toughly welded into one formidable weapon of attack on the common foe”—to wit, we suppose, the British Government. In reply we would state that the “sect of the Assassins” never came within a thousand miles of our frontier—their nearest establishment was in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. As for “the excellent authority” who suggests they still exist there, we should like to know in what respect his excellence consists before we give any credence to his suggestion. Again, to speak of the “Sheeah superstitions of Imam and Mahdee” combining with the “practices of the Ismaeleeyeh” as though they were the conjunction of two heterogeneous elements held together by hatred of the English, is absurd. They were in conjunction from the beginning; the Grand Master maintained his supremacy over his subjects by means of the belief that he was preparing the way for the advent of the Mahdee, and in direct communication with him. But the whole passage is absurd from beginning to end. The teaching of Syud Ahmed as preserved by his disciples is full of denunciations against the Sheeah heretics; what Mr. Palgrave in another place terms “the organized practice of private assassination” is unknown in India, either in the North-West Frontier or anywhere else; and to speak of that miserable colony of Sittana, as all the various sections of Islam in India “toughly welded into one formidable weapon of attack,” is simply exhibiting ignorance and credulity—ignorance as to the real character of “the Sittana host,” and credulity in accepting Dr. Hunter’s terrifying epithets without a liberal allowance of salt.

Mr. Palgrave brings forward several other phantoms, but they as little bear examination as those we have discussed. In conclusion we can only repeat our regret that a writer in many ways so eminently qualified to instruct his countrymen on matters of which they are dangerously ignorant, should max his usefulness by reckless assertions. Thus he says, in his essay on “The Mahometan Revival”—“a month after this essay was written, arrived the news of the assassination of Lord Mayo.” Now every one knows that the murder of Lord Mayo had no more to do with a “Muhammadan Revival” than the death of Louis Napoleon Buonaparte. Mr. Palgrave has therefore placed himself in this awkward predicament—either he knew this, in which case he is guilty of a *suggestio falsi*; or he did not; in which case he stands convicted of making statements which, if true, would be of the most serious and alarming character, without taking the trouble to ascertain if there be any foundation for them or not. It is not a pleasant position.

